

THE LINCOLN SCHOOL
OF TEACHERS COLLEGE

ISSUES IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

By
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ISSUES IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL ISSUES

The citizen in a dynamic society is confronted with innumerable issues—social, political, and economic—which await solution. Some are irrepressible issues of long standing that have persisted for lack of decisive answers to the queries that they present. Others are fresh questions, brought forth by a constantly evolving social order, one ever groping for solutions to present difficulties and searching for promising paths to a better era. Whether of long standing or recent, these issues are symptomatic of social flux and change; they represent that insistent striving forward into unproved and uncharted fields, whence alone progress must come.

An inescapable obligation of an education for social efficiency is so to equip the individual that he may be able to cope with the increasingly complex society in which he lives. This involves, for one thing, such preparation as will enable him to take intelligent attitudes regarding the more outstanding of the multitude of social issues that confronts him. It will not be gainsaid that an indispensable possession of the wide-awake citizen is a sound understanding of the live issues of the day, one that will give him a command of the facts and arguments involved whereby he may reach an informed and unbiased judgment. For, after all, if any contribution is to be made toward the solution of pressing social issues, it will have to be by the weight and influence of the deliberate opinion of an adequately trained citizenry. The complexity of society is increasing so much faster than the spread of knowledge on societal questions that the time is long past when broad social issues may be left to the judgment of an ignorant and untutored opinion. It is by *enlightened* opinion only that issues are sanely solved and democracy forges ahead. That the modern social science cur-

riculum should provide for the careful consideration of issues requires no further demonstration than this.

Issues, then, bulk large in importance among the materials of the social studies. But which of the countless issues that confront us on every hand are to be given a place among the social science materials? This is the problem of the selection of content that ever besets the maker of curricula and of textbooks. If the *a priori*, hit-and-miss methods of the traditional curriculum maker are employed, a body of unselected and unevaluated material, far too bulky and comprehensive to permit of adequate treatment, will be accumulated. These now discredited methods of an earlier day will not solve our problem. Modern developments in curriculum making, however, have pointed the way toward increasingly scientific techniques for the determination of curriculum content. It is the primary purpose of this study to utilize one of these impersonal, objective techniques in an attempt scientifically to determine an evaluated list of the major social issues.

THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

The investigation herein reported has had the following aims in view:

1. To inventory and evaluate the major issues in the high school social studies as represented by texts in the field.
2. To validate the importance of the list of issues thus drawn up by comparison and checking with a second list gleaned from treatises by leading authorities in various social fields, including government, labor and capital, criminology, education, etc.
3. To compare the methods by which issues are treated in high school social science textbooks and in the treatises of leading authorities in the social fields studied.
4. To discover whether significant issues are recognized, and how issues are treated, in high school social science classes.

It is believed that the list of social issues arising as a result of this study, a list carefully validated and evaluated, would be invaluable to makers of courses of study and writers of textbooks in aiding them to determine what issues to include in social science courses and textbooks.

The issues, covering as they do many varieties of political, economic, and social questions, would supply basic material for

tests of social attitudes, liberal-mindedness, conservatism, radicalism, etc.

The comparative study of methods of writing up issues in texts and treatises ought to prove suggestive to authors of social science texts, offering as it does concrete proposals for improvement in the form and method of treating issues.

The study of how issues are handled in social science classrooms should be helpful to teachers in providing more fruitful lines of attack in dealing with issues.

Finally, it has been the underlying aim of the whole investigation to focus attention on the issue as such, the conviction being that, because of its dynamic and provocative character, the issue deserves a place of much larger importance than it now enjoys in social science teaching as a stimulant to thought and discussion on the larger problems of the day.

THE TERMS DEFINED

As it is employed in this study, the term *issue* is assumed to mean "a point in debate or controversy on which the parties take affirmative and negative positions."¹ In addition, the mooted point is understood to involve a question of *desirability* and not of *fact*; hence the form of issue adopted as standard in this investigation is that appearing as a question introduced by the word *should*.²

Examples:

Should capital punishment be abolished?

Should judges be elected by popular vote?

The field studied is denominated the *social studies*, although primary attention is centered on the subject of civics as generally taught in the high school. The broader term is employed in view of the fact that the limits of the investigation embrace social and political, as well as economic issues. In truth, the field of immediate interest here under consideration is present-day social life. Neither history nor geography, however, comes within the purview of this study. *Social studies* and *social sciences* are freely used interchangeably.

¹ Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 1927.

² In contradistinction to *problem*, which is taken to denote a *how*, *what*, *where*, or *why* question. The *issue* requires only affirmation or negation based on a weighing of the evidence at hand; the *problem* calls for a solution.

The term *treatise* is used to designate those books by leading authorities in the fields of immigration, government, public finance, etc., which are utilized as a criterion for the validation of the issues gathered from high school textbooks. It is intended to imply a thoroughly systematic explanation and discussion of the principles of a definitely circumscribed unit of knowledge.

In the expression *social issues*, the word *social* is intended in its broader significance (as it is used in the term *social science*), and hence includes the political and economic.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

The reconstruction of the high school social science curriculum by objective methods has been going on apace for a number of years. Many studies of genuine value have been produced. Some of the more significant of these are reported in considerable detail in Part II of *The Twenty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, prepared under the direction of Professor Harold O. Rugg, and devoted in its entirety to a consideration of "The Social Studies in the Elementary and Secondary School." Probably the most outstanding contribution to this movement for reorganization is the new experimental course in social science constructed by Professor Rugg and his associates in the Lincoln School of Teachers College. The method by which this new course has been constructed is described by Professor Rugg in Chapter XV of the volume to which reference has just been made. Let us quote his summary of the steps in this method.

This, then, is our procedure: first, find the *problems and issues* of modern social life; second, find the particular *questions* which have to be answered in order to consider all angles of the various problems; third, select typical "episodes" which illustrate the more important points to be made, collect the *facts*, in narrative, descriptive, graphic, pictorial or statistical form, that are needed to discuss the questions and the problems; fourth, to clarify and fix the essential matters, discover the basic *generalizations* that guide our thinking about society.³

Expressly as the first step in the Lincoln School program of social science reorganization, a previous attempt objectively

³ Rugg, H. O. "Problems of Contemporary Life as the Basis for Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies." *The Twenty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Chap. XV, Part II. Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill., 1923, p. 266.

to determine the major social issues was made by Hockett. The purpose of this study,⁴ to use his own words, was "to discover and report some of the more significant problems and issues of political, economic, and social life in America today." Two sources were utilized as criteria for determining these problems and issues: (1) selected critical books of social analysts; and (2) news columns and editorial comments in journals of recent years. In the case of the first source, a group of twenty-two books selected from a composite list recommended by one hundred fifty specialists (in the fields of government, economics, sociology, law, the press, international affairs, immigration, geography, anthropology, and the field of artistic expression) as representing, "in the highest degree, penetrating insight and critical analysis of contemporary life and problems" was analyzed. The second source analyzed comprised the weekly news summary of events under the caption "Current Events" in the *Literary Digest* for a period of six years (January 1920-December 1925), and the editorial columns of four critical weekly journals of opinion (the *Outlook*, the *Independent*, the *New Republic*, and the *Nation*) distributed evenly over the years 1921, 1923, and 1925. The findings of the study are grouped into four large classes: (1) problems and issues of government; (2) those of industry and business; (3) those not relating specifically either to political or to economic affairs; and (4) problems of international relations. Two hundred ninety-two items are listed as problems and one hundred four as issues, but no attempt is made to distinguish clearly between problems and issues as such.

CERTAIN POSTULATES

The present investigation proceeds upon certain postulates:

1. That *issues* as such, in contradistinction to *problems*, are of such outstanding importance in contemporary life as not only to warrant, but even to require a systematic inventory and evaluation.

2. That attitudes on important issues of the day are sources of incalculable social danger to the extent that they are not founded upon enlightened opinion and informed judgment.

⁴Hockett, J. A. *A Determination of the Major Social Problems of American Life*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 281, 1927.

3. That the proper consideration of issues in the social science classroom encourages deliberation and the impartial weighing of evidence as the bases of conclusions, and hence should be specifically provided for in the social science curriculum of the high school.

4. That a fruitful approach to the baffling problem of how the school may help to form desirable attitudes may very possibly be made through the channel of the social issues.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE: AN ANALYSIS OF CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

THE FIRST CRITERION

Civics texts appear to be an eminently reasonable point of departure in the project to discover the major issues in the high school social studies. Civics is the single subject in the high school curriculum sufficiently comprehensive to embrace those social fields intimately connected with the activities and interests of civic life, including as it does matters of a political and economic, as well as of a social nature. It is that subject which most specifically deals with the host of live public questions which every thoughtful citizen is likely at some time to face. Presumably it will, then, reveal to us better than any other subject the most significant issues in contemporary life that are considered in the high school. To be sure, a variety of books scattered over several social fields might be chosen, as, for example, those on government, on sociology, and on economics. But a serious disadvantage would attach to such a procedure. It would multiply our difficulties by introducing two additional variables without at the same time contributing any compensating advantages. Indeed, the subjects of government, sociology, and economics, individually, are not so well established nor so generally taught on the high school level as civics is, and, consequently, textbooks representing those subjects would probably be considerably fewer in number and less certain in content.

Furthermore, so far as is known, no previous inventory of the issues in the high school social studies has ever been made. In view of this fact, it would seem not undesirable in this study first to discover what issues are being presented to high school pupils—what issues are deemed by civics textbook writers worthy of inclusion in their works. Of course, as has already been stated, the civics text source is to be used primarily as a point of departure. Findings from this source will have to

be checked and validated by other criteria. Nevertheless, the civics textbook is undoubtedly one criterion for the selection of major social issues in the high school field. It represents in curriculum construction the method of appeal to the opinion of the specialist. Whether or not he is always a dependable judge, the writer of civics texts is at least one widely accepted judge of what social issues should command the attention of the high school pupil. A collection gleaned from the writings of these specialists, therefore, would seem to constitute an excellent start in the task of compiling an evaluated list of crucial issues. As furnishing a survey of the *status quo*, it appears to be the logical first step in our problem.

THE SELECTION OF THE TEXTBOOKS

The object kept in mind in choosing the civics textbooks was to get those commonly enough used to be representative of the material employed in average high school social science classes. It is believed that this condition was met in the list of books finally decided upon. Definite data to attest to the wide use of every text chosen, however, were not obtainable. In each case where such testimony was lacking, the general repute of the author as well as the opinion of experienced workers in the field concerning the book was taken into account to determine its availability. A sufficiently long list of texts was utilized in the study in order that possible ill-effects on the results, due to any choice open to criticism as being unrepresentative, might be counteracted. The texts used are listed in Table I.

In support of eight of the texts chosen, data are presented from the report¹ of a study to discover what provision is made for citizenship training in the high schools, undertaken in 1920 by the Commission on Secondary Schools of the North Central Association. The association sent a questionnaire to each secondary school accredited by it, and received replies from 1180 of the schools. In the words of the report,

The replies received gave a rather surprising unanimity of practice in the use of textbooks. Except in a few states in which "official leaflets" are provided, and except in a goodly number of schools in which no

¹ Davis, C. O. "Training for Citizenship in the North Central Association Secondary Schools." *School Review*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 263-82, 1920.

definite printed material is used, the texts are (almost without other exceptions) confined to the ones enumerated in the table.²

TABLE I

CIVICS TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED FOR ISSUES

1. Ashley, R. L. *The New Civics*. 497 pp. New and revised edition, 1925.
2. Beard, C. A. and Beard, M. R. *American Citizenship*. 309 pp. New and revised edition, 1921.
3. Boynton, F. D. *School Civics*. 402 pp. Revised edition, 1923.
4. Burch, H. R. and Patterson, S. H. *Problems of American Democracy*. 575 pp. 1922.
5. Davis, S. E. and McClure, C. H. *Our Government*. 249 pp. 1922.
6. Dunn, A. W. *The Community and the Citizen*. 298 pp. 1914.
7. Forman, S. E. *The American Democracy*. 434 pp. 1920.
8. Garner, J. W. *Government in the United States*. 392 pp. 1919.
9. Guitteau, W. B. *Government and Politics in the United States*. 473 pp. Revised, 1915.
10. Harman, R. A., Tucker, H. R., and Wrench, J. E. *American Citizenship Practice*. 555 pp. 1926.
11. Haskin, F. J. *The American Government*. 484 pp. Revised, 1923.
12. Hill, H. C. *Community Life and Civic Problems*. 528 pp. 1922.
13. Hughes, R. O. *Elementary Community Civics*. 447 pp. 1922.
14. Magruder, F. A. *American Government*. 495 pp. New edition, 1927.
15. Munro, W. B. *Current Problems in Citizenship*. 534 pp. 1924.

Those texts listed in the table referred to which were utilized in this study are given here, together with the number of schools in which each one is used.

Ashley's <i>The New Civics</i> and <i>American Government</i>	153
Hughes' <i>Community Civics</i> ³	116
Magruder's <i>American Government</i>	144
Guitteau's <i>Government and Politics in the U. S.</i>	208
Boynton's <i>School Civics</i>	33
Garner's <i>Government in the United States</i>	73
Dunn's <i>The Community and the Citizen</i>	28
Forman's <i>Advanced Civics</i> ⁴	72

THE TECHNIQUE OF ANALYSIS

The work of analyzing the selected books for issues elicited at its very inception a particularly serious problem. How was an issue to be recognized when the reader came to it? Manifestly

² *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

³ Hughes' *Elementary Community Civics* was used instead of his *Community Civics*.

⁴ Forman's later book, *The American Democracy*, was used in preference to his *Advanced Civics*, upon which it is based.

issues are not presented in any uniform pattern in texts. Indeed, very frequently they are found in such forms as to leave genuine doubt as to whether they should be regarded as issues. On these occasions of uncertainty how is the reader to decide? Should he make an attempt at interpretation, and conclude that a certain point is or is not an issue according as his preconceptions incline him in one direction or the other? No doubt this would be the natural thing for him to do, but it is apparent that any such procedure would preclude all possibility of a purely objective determination of issues. Clearly if our list of issues is to have any validity whatsoever, it must be arrived at by an altogether impersonal technique.

As a possible clue to the discovery of a technique of objective analysis the writer had in mind an imperfectly defined theory that there must be certain cue forms, words, and phrases which would facilitate the detection of issues. Acting on this assumption he began his reading and analysis of civics texts, marking what seemed to be issues as they appeared. After several score issues had been determined in this way as the result of the analysis of two books, reading was suspended and the collection of issues at hand was scrutinized. Common distinguishing marks were sought; similarities in form were observed; characteristic words or phrases were noted. All these were classified and tabulated. With the list of cue forms and phrases thus formulated in hand, further reading was continued, and new cues revealing themselves were incorporated in the prepared list. This process was followed until a total of six texts had been analyzed. By this time it began to appear that the growing list had practically exhausted the possible cues. These were now carefully studied and "boiled down," so to speak. Duplicate cue forms and words were eliminated; similar ones were combined; some sort of final classification was attempted. The resultant list of cue forms and phrases, a tool by means of which the objective analysis of books for issues was made possible, is presented in Table II. Before the task of reading was continued, this list of cues was used to check over the issues that had already been gathered from the six textbooks analyzed up to this point. This checking process resulted in the elimination of a small number of issues, for it was observed that the tendency so far had been to err on the side of leniency, items

TABLE II

CUE FORMS AND PHRASES INDICATIVE OF ISSUES IN TEXTUAL MATTER

Stated Issues

1. Should be approved?
(A question of desirability answerable affirmatively or negatively only.)
2. (a) is the (a, an) issue (question).
(b) There is a difference of opinion as to whether should be
(c) *versus*
3. Arguments pro and con presented }
Advantages and disadvantages listed } concerning a question of desirability.

Implied Issues

4. Some favor ; some oppose
Some say ; others declare { (Varying views concerning a question of desirability.)
5. Many, some (people) { think
say
believe
6. Many, several, certain, }
in some, in (number) } communities, individuals, etc.
7. (a) Some, many { hold (held), maintain (ed),
There has been { defend (ed) the right to, argue (d),
It has been { agitation in favor of, contend (ed),
suggest (ed), advocate (d), urge (d),
desire (d), insist (ed), demand (ed).
- (b) The merits are
8. (a) Some (many, there) are { object (ed) to, oppose (d to),
It has been { condemn (ed), resent,
objections to, criticize (d).
- (b) The defects are
9. Various attempts to
A movement (tendency) to (toward)
An experiment to
..... are considering whether should

being admitted as issues which were subsequently rejected when checked by the cue list. Indeed, the cue list made it possible to determine objectively, and at times almost mechanically, the presence of a genuine issue. A genuine issue, be it remarked,

not according to the judgment of the reader nor according to an interpretation by the reader of the intentions of the author, but rather according to the *form* in which the issue was presented.

STATED AND IMPLIED ISSUES

An attempt has been made to make a dichotomous classification of the issues according to the form in which they appear. The division determined upon may not commend itself to all as an entirely satisfactory one, though for the use to which it has been put in this study it has served its purpose admirably. The only quarrel which anyone can find with the classification adopted, it is believed, is concerning the placement of the cues in group 3 (Table II). The proper position of each of the other groups is unequivocal. Group 3, it is readily admitted, might with equal or better reason be included among the cues indicating implied issues, for doubtless an issue in the form of a proposition with arguments presented for and against it can hardly be termed a *stated* issue. Yet, on the other hand, surely it cannot be urged that an issue in this form is not a *directly presented* one. This is precisely what *stated* issue is intended to mean.

THE LIST OF CUES EXPLAINED

It is now in order to defend and explain briefly the adoption of the list of cue forms and phrases as objective determinants of issues. It must be borne in mind, however, that the illustrations offered are, in all cases, those selected for their brevity, and for that reason they may not be most typical of the group of issues they represent.

1. Should be approved?

The first category of our issues will require no extended discussion. Included in this group are those issues which appear in the text precisely in that form which was adopted as standard for this study. One or two examples will illustrate. In the midst of a discussion of the American railroad problem on page 303 of his *Current Problems in Citizenship* Munro asks: "Should the national government buy out the private owners and manage the railroads just as it conducts the post office?" There is no doubt, of course, that this is an issue, directly stated. To illustrate

again, on page 89 of Hughes' *Elementary Community Civics* appears this sentence: "Our complete unpreparedness for a large war has raised the question, 'Should the United States have compulsory military training?'" This also is an issue stated in the direct issue form adopted as standard in this investigation.

2. (a) is the (a, an) issue (question)
- (b) There is a difference of opinion as to whether should be
- (c) *versus*

In the second category are found issues which, while not stated in our standard issue form, are declared to be issues by the author in so many words. An example of this second form of issue is the following:

Accordingly, all those who have a hand in settling the general policy of the government should be chosen by popular vote and should be required to come back to the people for reelection at regular intervals. Whether they should also be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired *is a question upon which people disagree*; * but there is no disagreement as to the need for holding them to a strict accountability.⁵

Recorded: Should elective officials be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired?

Another example is:

It raises the question whether we want to move toward a centralized government or retain the division of powers that we now have.⁶

Recorded: Should legislation in the United States tend toward a centralized government rather than toward a retention of the division of powers that we now have?

In the rewording of the issue into standard form the concept "legislation," which does not appear in the issue as quoted, was not arbitrarily introduced by the present writer. The word was used in the full paragraph from which the quotation was abstracted, but for reasons of space the entire paragraph could not be reproduced here.

In view of the fact that an issue has been assumed to be a point in controversy on which an affirmative or a negative position is taken, the particular issue we are now discussing brings

* *Italics* are the present writer's.

⁵ Munro: *Current Problems in Citizenship*, p. 190.

⁶ Munro, *ibid.*, p. 210.

up a fresh problem. The text reads: "It raises the question whether we want to move toward a centralized government or retain the division of powers that we now have." Does not this issue involve a choice between non-exclusive alternatives rather than one between affirmative and negative as we have required of an issue? To put it more directly, does not the question properly appear in our standard issue form as: Should legislation in the United States tend toward a centralized government or toward a retention of the division of powers that we now have? If so, how can the question be answered by an affirmative or negative alone?

This would appear to be a genuine difficulty unless we recall that another of the forms of issues placed in this category is the *versus* pattern. This pattern properly indicates an issue as we have defined it, for the *versus* form always implies paired opposites: to affirm one side is to deny its opposite, and *vice versa*. Hence, the pattern really offers a choice between affirmative and negative, as in our standard issue. That is, the issue may be reworded and stated in such form as to render it answerable by "yes" or "no"—Should legislation in the United States tend toward a centralized government?—without affecting its original meaning in any way. For though the alternative "or toward a retention of the division of powers that we now have" is omitted in the restated issue, the opportunity for including that alternative in consideration is not lost: to affirm the issue as stated is to deny this alternative; to negate it necessarily implies at least a leaning toward the alternative. In consequence it may fairly be said that where paired opposites are presented as alternatives in a question, that question may be stated in our standard issue form, either by dropping one of the alternatives, or by retaining both alternatives and substituting the words "rather than" for the word "or" between them, thereby rendering the issue resolvable by an affirmative or a negative without detracting in the slightest from its original import. In the case under discussion the issue is centralization *versus* decentralization. We have recorded it in this study as: Should legislation in the United States tend toward a centralized government rather than toward a retention of the division of powers that we now have? Other paired opposites that frequently appear in social issues are: public *versus* private,

foreign *versus* domestic, elective *versus* appointive, etc. We conclude then that in the meaning of issue as we have stated it, a choice between paired opposites constitutes an issue, but a choice between non-exclusive alternatives *does not*.

Let us take as another example this: Whether promotion in the civil service should be based on examination or on efficiency of service is a question on which people disagree. Restated, the question is: Should promotion in the civil service be based on examination or on efficiency of service? This is not an issue as the term is understood in this study. It is not a mooted point on which one may take either an affirmative or a negative position; it involves a choice between non-exclusive alternatives, not between opposites. Affirming the desirability of the examination as a basis for promotion does not necessarily deny efficiency of service as also an acceptable basis, for examination and efficiency of service are not opposites. To make clear our position it should be said that, as we see it, this is a *problem* which might best be stated: On what should promotion in the civil service be based?

There are several possible alternatives, of course, such as efficiency of service, length of service, examination, etc. It might be added, however, that this problem in its original form might be *changed* to appear as *two* issues; namely, Should promotion in the civil service be based on examination? Should promotion in the civil service be based on efficiency of service? But this, it should be borne in mind, would be to twist the meaning of the problem as stated into a construction not contemplated in its original wording. Care has been taken to expatiate on this point in order that the distinction between problem and issue, as adopted in this investigation, may be kept clearly in mind.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 3. Arguments pro and con presented | } concerning a |
| Advantages and disadvantages listed |  | question of desirability. |

It is at once evident that the pro and con form connotes an issue. The very fact that valid arguments in support of either side of a question may be drawn up by an impartial student is proof positive that it is still open, regardless of how many there may be who have reached a firm conclusion on it. In this connection it may be said that questions in this form are recorded

as issues, irrespective of whether the author himself comes to a decision in his text concerning them. One example of this form is offered:

Two forms of government very different from that already described have recently been introduced in many cities. One of these is the *commission form*. By this plan the government is placed wholly in the hands of a commission of from three to nine men (most often five) who are elected by the people at large. One member of the commission is designated as mayor, but he has no powers different from those of the other members. He presides over the meetings of the commission, and on public occasions acts as the official head of the city. The commission as a whole acts as a legislative body and decides on the policy to be followed by the government. Each member of the commission is placed at the head of one of the main departments of the city government. Thus there is a commissioner of public works, a commissioner of finance, a commissioner of public safety, and so on.

This form of city government was first adopted in Galveston, Texas, after the city had been devastated by storm and flood, and when the crisis demanded a simple, but energetic and efficient, business management. Since then it has spread widely, having been adopted with slight variations by hundreds of cities in many states.

Some of the advantages of the commission plan are said to be: (1) that it prevents the concentration of too much power in the hands of one man, the mayor; (2) that it supplants the large council with the small commission, which makes it easier for the people to hold their legislative body responsible for its acts; (3) that it fixes the responsibility for the management of each department of government upon one man; (4) that it facilitates the transaction of the city's business. Under the old plan of government there are often many delays in getting business through the council, with its numerous committees, and through the various administrative offices. Under the commission form each commissioner is on duty all the time. The several commissioners may hold a joint meeting at any time as the occasion demands; the old council meets but once a week, at night.

Under the commission form of government the principle of the short ballot is applied. It is also usually accompanied by the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, which are additional means for holding the members of the commission and their subordinates responsible directly to the people.

The chief objections to the commission plan are two: It is said by many to be unwise to combine legislative and administrative powers in one body. It is further urged that the commission plan tends to break up the city government into three, five, or more parts, without sufficient provision for unity. These objections are said to be overcome, in large measure, by the most recent form of city government now in operation in a few cities. This is the *city manager plan*.⁷

⁷ Dunn: *The Community and the Citizen*, pp. 236ff.

Recorded: Should the commission form of government for cities be approved?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>4. Some favor.....; some oppose
 Some say; others declare</p> | } | <p>(Varying
views con-
cerning a
question of
desir-
ability.)</p> |
|--|---|---|

This form involves those questions *not* about which it is *stated* that there is a difference of opinion (for such belong in group 2), but regarding which different positions and views are presented. These differing views *imply* an issue, but the issue is not directly stated. The remaining forms that we shall discuss all fall into this category of *implied* issues.

Some people object to the reading of the Bible in the schools because they say it is sectarian. Others declare that the morals and ideals set forth in the Bible are fundamental principles of all religious faiths, and do not deal with any one sect in particular. Some states provide for the reading of a certain number of verses, usually eight or ten, every day. These are generally taken from parts of the Bible that are accepted by all sects.⁸

Recorded: Should the reading of the Bible in public schools be approved?

Some States object to voting machines because they encourage the voting of a "straight ticket," but the use of them continues in other states.⁹

Recorded: Should voting machines be used in general elections?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| <p>5. Many, some (people)</p> | { | <p>think
say
believe</p> |
|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|

The very fact that there is a section (however small or large) of the population manifesting a particular opinion regarding the desirability of a specific practice or program immediately raises the query, Should what they believe be approved?, and implies the presence of an issue.

⁸ Hughes: *Elementary Community Civics*, p. 296.

⁹ Magruder: *American Government*, p. 419.

The two general methods of granting public relief are: (1) outdoor relief, or that given to dependent persons in their homes; and (2) indoor or institutional relief. Outdoor relief is carried on by local governments, which often supply goods, or orders for goods, to persons unable to support themselves. The practical difficulties in administering public outdoor relief are so great that *many authorities believe that this plan should be discontinued** except in rural districts.¹⁰

Recorded: Should public outdoor relief of the poor be discontinued except in rural districts?

*Some people think** that the schools should be open all the year round instead of being closed and out of use two or three months of the year. Many schools have special summer courses of about six weeks. People who are behind in their work, or those who wish to go ahead faster, attend these summer schools. There has been some talk of having a twelve-month school year, divided into four quarters, each pupil being required to attend three of the four.¹¹

Recorded: Should schools be kept open all the year round instead of being closed and out of use two or three months of the year?

6. Many, several, certain, } communities, individuals, etc.
in some, in (number)

It has been assumed that when a critical description of a project or practice is followed by the statement that a number of communities or individuals approve or actually make use of the project, an issue is implied. The justification for this assumption lies in the reasoning that if a certain group identify themselves with a thing, logically and by implication the question arises: Should what they do be approved? In other words, the mere adoption of a certain practice by a group projects that practice into the arena of attention and judgment. Illustrations follow:

By direct legislation is meant that in which the people participate directly, instead of acting through their representatives. The most common example is the referendum, by which legislative measures are submitted to popular vote for approval or rejection. Early in our history it became an established principle that proposed constitutions or amendments should be referred to the voters for ratification. The referendum has since been employed to determine questions of ordinary legislation, as the incorporation of municipalities, the organization of counties and townships, the location of county seats, incurring of indebtedness, granting of municipal franchises, and issuing of liquor licenses. The referendum

* *Italics* are the present writer's.

¹⁰ Guiteau: *Government and Politics in the U. S.*, p. 153.

¹¹ Hughes: *Elementary Community Civics*, p. 106.

affords a valuable check upon the actions of State legislatures and municipal councils; and it also provides a certain means of determining whether proposed legislation is approved by public sentiment.

The logical complement of the referendum is the initiative, by which a certain percentage of the voters are empowered to propose measures which must subsequently, with or without the intervention of the legislature, be submitted to popular vote. For example, the constitution of Oregon provides that any legislative measure may be initiated by a petition bearing the signatures of eight per cent of the voters, and containing the proposed measure in full. The petition must be filed with the Secretary of State at least four months before election day; and, if approved by a majority of all those voting upon it at the election, the measure becomes a law. The initiative and referendum in some form prevails in 209 cities, in twenty-five different States.* Nineteen commonwealths have authorized the initiative and referendum in the case of State laws, and thirteen of these permit the voters to initiate constitutional amendments, as well as statutes.¹²

Recorded: Should the initiative and referendum be adopted in the state as means of direct legislation?

A little more than a hundred years ago, the stealing of a loaf of bread was punished by death. The old Hebrews' idea of punishment called for "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." But the fearfulness of the punishment seems to have done nothing to lessen crime.

Gradually, we have adopted milder punishments. *In some states** it is no longer permitted to put a man to death for any crime. This new treatment has been due to a growing understanding of the causes of crime. Along with this has come better treatment of the prisoner while he is confined. Jails and penitentiaries have been more sanitary, and attempts are now made to reform the prisoner instead of punishing him. According to the newer ideas, it is not the severity of the penalty but the swiftness and sureness of its application that will deter the criminal. Punishment cannot be abolished, but it must be of such a nature that the criminal, when he is released, will be in a position to start life anew as a safe and sane member of society.¹³

Recorded: Should capital punishment be abolished?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 7. (a) Some, many
There has been
It has been | { | hold (held), maintain (ed),
defend (ed) the right to, argue (d),
agitation in favor of, contend (ed),
suggest (ed), advocate (d), urge
(d),
desire (d), insist (ed), demand
(ed). |
| (b) the merits are | | |

* *Italics* are the present writer's.

¹² Guitteau: *Government and Politics in the U. S.*, pp. 103f.

¹³ Harman, Tucker, and Wrench: *American Citizenship Practice*, pp. 75f.

That a certain thing should be done is proposed, urged, or demanded. The matter so put forward indirectly appeals to one's sense of judgment: Should the petition be favored? The form in which the proposition is presented implies an issue, therefore.

There is, however, an indirect way in which the state or national government may take private property without paying for it; that is, by taxation—income and inheritance taxes, taxes on land, customs duties and the like that are used for the support of the government and for the promotion of public welfare. Indeed, *there are many people who hold* * that there should be heavy inheritance and income taxes for the purpose of helping to equalize the rich and poor. This means that a great deal should be taken from the rich and used for the general welfare—for schools, parks, roads, hospitals, and other public institutions. In fact, we now have a federal income tax, and many states have inheritance and income taxes, but they are designed to raise revenues rather than to equalize wealth.¹⁴

Recorded: Should heavy inheritance and income taxes be resorted to by the government to equalize wealth?

To equalize the sacrifice of taxpayers, a *graduated or progressive tax has been proposed*.^{*} Under the workings of this tax the rate increases with the amount of property. For example, if A, B, C, and D are worth respectively \$10,000, \$20,000, \$30,000, and \$40,000, a scheme of progressive taxation might impose upon A a rate of one per cent; upon B a rate of two per cent, upon C a rate of three per cent, and upon D a rate of four per cent. D's property is only four times as great as A's, yet it pays sixteen times as much in taxes.¹⁵

Recorded: Should a graduated or progressive tax plan be adopted to equalize the sacrifice of taxpayers?

8. (a) Some (many, there) } object (ed) to, oppose (d to),
are } condemn (ed), resent,
It has been } objections to, criticize (d).
(b) The defects are

This form is the opposite of that classified under group 7 immediately preceding. A certain proposition is in disfavor: Should general opinion agree with the stand taken? is the issue implied.

While the Constitution places no limit on the reelection of the president, the custom of reelection but once has become so firmly fixed that it would be very difficult to change it. *Many now question* * the wisdom of allow-

* *Italics* are the present writer's.

¹⁴ Beard and Beard: *American Citizenship*, p. 56.

¹⁵ Forman: *The American Democracy*, pp. 269f.

ing even a second term. They argue that under the present arrangement the president is likely to be more concerned about being president for two terms than about being a good president for one, and that he will, in consequence, try to please the party managers and only secondarily to serve the people.¹⁶

Recorded: Should the President be reëligible to office?

The committees of Congress number about sixty in the House and thirty-five in the Senate. Their membership ranges from three to twenty-two in the House and from three to fifteen in the Senate. The majority of the members of all important committees belong to the party which has a majority in the house to which a committee belongs. On this account, many bills are accepted or rejected for party reasons.

There are many objections to * this committee system. Most bills receive much more discussion in the committee than in public sessions of either house—that is, if a bill is fortunate enough to be considered at all. The committees, therefore, are very powerful. They do much of the work of law-making, and some bills do not get a square deal. Yet nobody has found any better way to handle the thousands of bills that come up during a session.¹⁷

Recorded: Should the committee system by which Congress does its work be approved?

9. Various attempts to

A movement (tendency) to (toward)

An experiment to

..... are considering whether should

These various phrases all indicate that a change in the *status quo* is contemplated or actually in process. Should the change be approved? is the issue that is implied.

At the primaries in New York City in 1912 a ballot fourteen feet long was used, containing 590 names. While this is an extreme case, it illustrates the difficulty which the conscientious voter faces when he tries to vote intelligently. In order to remove this difficulty, *a movement has been gaining headway in favor of* * a short ballot. As the name indicates, the plan is to reduce the number of names to be voted for to a very brief list. The chief means of accomplishing this is by having only the most important officials elected by the people, leaving the less important ones to be appointed by those elected. The few elective officials would thus stand out prominently before the voters, and could be held responsible by the people for the appointment of capable subordinates. This plan

* *Italics* are the present writer's.

¹⁶ Boynton: *School Civics*, p. 173.

¹⁷ Hughes: *Elementary Community Civics*, p. 364.

not only makes it easier for the voter to vote intelligently, but also tends to secure more capable men in office.¹⁸

Recorded: Should the movement in favor of the short ballot be approved?

ISSUES IN THE EXERCISES

A large proportion of the issues gathered from the civics texts were found in the exercises. In the case of one or two texts, nearly all the issues were found there. Exercise issues appeared in two forms primarily, as stated issues and as resolutions for debate. Occasionally issues so palpably inconsequential were met with that it was apparent that they had been provided merely as additional material for the pupil to sharpen his wits upon. Such issues were not recorded. On the whole, however, issues presented in the exercises were usually those that had some relevance to topics discussed in the chapter preceding the exercise material.

Samples of resolutions proposed in the exercises for debate are these:

Resolved, that the United States government should own and operate the railroads.¹⁹

Recorded: Should the United States government own and operate the railroads?

Resolved, That capital punishment be abolished. Debate this question.²⁰

Recorded: Should capital punishment be abolished?

THE DATA RECORDED

Cards 3 x 5 inches in size were used to record the issues as they were found. The following data were noted in connection with each issue:

1. The serial number of the issue.
2. The key number of the text from which the issue was taken.
3. The page of the text on which the issue appeared.
4. A general classification of the issue (e.g., national government, education, labor and capital, etc.).
5. The issue itself, stated in the standard form adopted for this study.

¹⁸ Dunn: *The Community and the Citizen*, pp. 203f.

¹⁹ Hughes: *Elementary Community Civics*, p. 220.

²⁰ Boynton: *School Civics*, p. 349.

6. The form in which the issue was presented (recorded according to the classification presented in Table II).

The sample card offered as an illustration shows that the issue recorded on it appeared on page 254 of text number 10, which is Beard and Beard's *American Citizenship*. The number 53 in the upper right-hand corner signifies that this was the fifty-third issue to be found in this particular book. The issue is classified

10	53
254	Munic. gov't.
Should public utilities be owned and operated by the city?	
stated: 1	

under "municipal government." The notation at the bottom indicates that the question was presented in the text as a stated issue in standard form (group 1 in Table II).

In each case it was endeavored to reformulate the issue as found into the issue form as adopted in this investigation without distorting in any way the meaning of the item. Aside from the change (where necessary) into question form and the addition of the word "should," the original wording was kept intact where possible. That this was not possible in every case becomes apparent when it is realized that often, because of the exigencies of composition and for other reasons, an adequate statement of an issue was not to be found complete in one sentence. At such times it was necessary to amplify the imperfect wording of the issue as it happened to appear, for outside its context this wording would not have conveyed the meaning the full discussion indicated.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TEXT ISSUES

Hardly anything that could be dignified by the term "method" was employed in classifying the issues collected from the civics

textbooks. The chapter headings in the texts themselves were, of course, a constant guide. In fact, as the record of each issue was transferred to a card, all that was usually necessary was to glance at the chapter heading of the text in hand in order to be able also to transfer notation of the issue's proper classification. The issues seemed to group themselves quite naturally under certain headings. After the analysis of the fifteen texts had been completed, it was a relatively simple matter to take the several hundred cards and, guided by the classification noted on each, to throw them into a dozen or so assorted stacks. This tentative distribution revealed the following groups: (1) national government, (2) state government, (3) local government, (4) Congress, (5) practical politics, (6) taxation, (7) courts and the judiciary, (8) foreign relations, (9) immigration, (10) criminology, (11) labor and capital, (12) education, (13) social welfare, (14) miscellaneous.

PREPARATION OF A RANK ORDER LIST OF TEXT ISSUES

The Need for Evaluation. A varied assortment of issues totaling approximately nine hundred was now at hand. With duplications eliminated, considerably more than four hundred still remained. What could be done with such a formidable array? It was apparent that no high school social science course could handle four hundred issues even if it were advisable to do so. It was equally apparent that if a selection was to be made from this mass, a puzzling problem would at once present itself—what issues are of most worth? This dilemma compelled the conclusion that some sort of evaluation of the issues was imperative.

The Criterion. Various criteria might have been utilized for an evaluation of the issues. A selection on the basis of his pupils' interests or his own preferences might have been made by a teacher for the use of each class. This, though, would have been but an individual solution of very limited application. An appeal to the judgment of authorities was another alternative. But in view of the large number of issues involved, this procedure would have presented almost insuperable difficulties. The criterion finally decided upon, however, made use of this method of resorting to authoritative judgment, but in modified form. It was not necessary to go far afield for our authorities. Were not the

authors of the very texts which had given us our issues the most available authorities? And better still, they had already reduced to print that which we wished to question them about: those issues which in their opinions were the most significant were the very ones which they had included in their texts. We could, therefore, easily get a consensus of our group of authorities concerning the relative importance of our issues by consulting the data collected in our analysis of their books. The number of different texts in which each issue appeared would be a criterion of its importance, for, other things being equal, an issue mentioned by ten authors would very probably be more significant than one mentioned by only five. This was the basis of the procedure adopted for evaluating the issues from the civics textbooks.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE: AN ANALYSIS OF TREATISES

THE SECOND CRITERION

The analysis of civics textbooks has revealed what in the opinion of specialists are the major issues in the high school social science field. These issues are representative of those recommended to the attention of high school pupils throughout the country. They constitute a significant portion of the pabulum offered in the average civics course, and play no small part in the high school in guiding thought on large social questions. In view of this fact, it would seem a highly desirable undertaking to attempt a validation of these issues. Are they indeed the most crucial issues in contemporary life that might suitably be presented to the high school pupil? In search for an answer to this question we go to another group of specialists—authorities in various technical social fields. These, in treatises on their individual fields of specialization, will give us their judgment regarding those issues lying within their particular province. Thus, in substantiation of the opinions of civics specialists, we shall have the judgments of authorities in each of the narrower fields embraced under civics. The contributions of these authorities will have weight, for only their deliberate conclusions which have been committed to permanent record will be utilized.

SELECTION OF THE TREATISES

From what fields should our treatises be taken? This was a paramount problem. It was of course essential that the list of treatises utilized should cover substantially the same field as do the civics textbooks. Only if this were true would comparable issues be produced. Consequently, the groups into which the issues from the civics texts were assorted were examined. National government, state government, local government, Congress, practical politics, taxation, the judiciary, foreign relations, immi-

gration, criminology, labor and capital, education, and social welfare—this was the classification. It was at first decided to select two treatises covering each of the fields included in this list. More careful consideration, however, led to the realization that this procedure would give a great preponderance of weight to the field of government. To avoid this undue emphasis, the four divisions of national, state, and local government and Congress were combined into one—government. In order that the issues revealed by so comprehensive a field might be doubly checked, it was decided to use four books in this field instead of two, the number employed in all the other cases. With this one change the classification was accepted as satisfactory, and the treatises were chosen on this basis.

It was the purpose to obtain treatises in each field that were from the pens of generally recognized authorities. But how were the authorities to be determined? Fortunately as one means of doing this there was made available by Professor H. O. Rugg for use in this study an evaluated list of books by "frontier thinkers." This list had been formulated by asking a large number of eminent specialists in different fields to submit a selected list of the most penetrating books in their own field, books to which they themselves would go "for a fundamental analysis of contemporary life." The books named in the replies received were listed by subject in rank order according to the number of recommendations.

It was not possible for two reasons to select all of the required treatises from this composite list. In the first place, not all of the fields it was desired to canvass were included in it. Secondly, in two or three instances excellent studies had been published subsequent to the compilation of the list. One or both treatises in five fields, however, were taken from it. In the field of government, those four books at the top of Rugg's list on government which are devoted to a systematic treatment of American government—national, state, and local—were chosen. These were Beard's *American Government and Politics*, which had nine recommendations;¹ Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, eight;² Munro's *Government of the United States*, five; and Young's *New American Government and Its Work*, four. This list also yielded a treatise for the field of practical politics;

¹ The maximum on this list was sixteen recommendations.

² The abridged edition of this work was employed in this study.

namely, Ray's *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*. This book had four recommendations. In the field of social welfare a book ranking second on Rugg's sociology list with eight recommendations, Ellwood's *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, was selected. From this same list was taken Parmelee's treatise on criminology for that field. This had four recommendations. The two books chosen to represent the field of immigration were those at the top of Rugg's immigration list, namely, Fairchild's *Immigration* and Jenks and Lauck's *Immigration Problem* with five and four recommendations, respectively. This concludes the enumeration of treatises taken from Rugg's composite list. All others were selected from other sources.

Originally a solution to the problem of selecting treatises had been contemplated in the form of those books most frequently suggested in the reading references of the civics texts analyzed. Indeed, the compilation of such a list was made. It was reasoned that certainly those authorities to whom textbook authors themselves referred would be the very ones whose judgment should be sought as a check upon the textbook issues gathered. It was not anticipated that such a guide to the selection of treatises would prove in the main unsatisfactory because it contained no reference to recent publications. In spite of this shortcoming, however, this list of references from the civics texts was helpful in aiding the selection of those treatises which remained to be found after recourse had been made to the Rugg list. In addition the American Library Association *Catalog* (1926) proved suggestive in calling attention to recommended books in various fields. These two sources, ably seconded by several students pursuing advanced study in two or three of the social fields canvassed, determined choices which finally completed the selection of the required treatises, as shown in Table III. A few lines will be written to indicate in what manner these aids were utilized.

In the field of public finance (taxation), the two treatises decided upon were Plehn's *Introduction to Public Finance* and Lutz's *Public Finance*. The former, which has been for years the standard work in this field, was also that book most widely recommended in the civics references. Lutz's book was found mentioned in the bibliographies of several treatises on government and also in the American Library Association *Catalog* for

1926. Consultation with an advanced student in the field elicited the information that the work was held generally in high regard.

In the field of courts and the judiciary it was decided to use Baldwin's *American Judiciary*, despite the fact that it had been published more than two decades before. The book was the most frequently mentioned in its field in the civics references. An earnest of the fact that it is not considered out of date is its recommendation by the American Library Association *Catalog* of 1926. The latter also recommended Bruce's *American Judge*, our second selection in this field.

In the field of foreign relations a recent book that was highly recommended to the writer was Buell's *International Relations*. A survey of the available treatises on foreign relations led to the adoption of this work, despite the fact that, as its title would indicate, it does not deal with the subject primarily from the standpoint of the United States. After this book had been chosen, matching it became an insuperable task. No up-to-date book could be discovered that treated exactly the same field. Gibbons' *Introduction to World Politics* was seriously considered, but it finally had to be rejected because too small a portion of it was devoted to American foreign affairs. His *America's Place in the World* was eventually selected as the second volume in the field of foreign relations, though admittedly it is hardly a systematic treatise on the subject. That the pair of books chosen do not agree in content is clearly realized. It is to be expected, therefore, that the issues from these sources represent at best a rough sampling of the field, and that their evaluation has but limited significance.

The search for books in education which would yield significant issues proved quite fruitless. Fully a thousand pages scattered through a half dozen volumes by men distinguished in the field were analyzed, but few if any issues were to be found. It finally became apparent that general treatises on the fundamental principles of education were in practically all cases introductory works aiming to present and expound principles of general agreement. Issues, it appeared, are reserved for the more advanced student who ventures into specialized phases of the subject. Finally, almost in desperation, Cubberley's *An Introduction to the Study of Education* and Bagley and Keith's *An Introduction to Teaching* were adopted. The issues gleaned

from these books are presented for what they are worth; by no means is it assumed that they represent the most significant ones in the field.

THE TECHNIQUE OF ANALYSIS

The list of cue forms and phrases which had become perfected through use in connection with the civics texts facilitated the analysis of the treatises enormously. The cues by this time had become firmly fixed in the analyst's mind; practice had developed adeptness in the detection of issues; the list of cues had become sufficiently complete to provide for practically every form of issue met with. Under these conditions the work of gathering issues proceeded on the whole with a smoothness and a precision that would have been surprising to one inclined to look upon such a process as, at best, inevitably an uncertain, conjectural affair.

Each issue with its accompanying data was recorded on a 3 x 5 card in much the same manner as in the case of the civics text issues. In order to distinguish between issues from the two sources, however, the key number of the treatises noted on the upper left-hand corner of each card was written in red ink instead of blue ink, the latter being used for the text issues. Moreover, for each issue drawn from the treatises there was put down in the lower left-hand corner of its card a figure to indicate the number of lines in the treatise devoted to a discussion of the particular issue. If the issue appeared more than once *as an issue* in different parts of the book, the accumulated number of lines thus accorded the treatment of the issue was duly recorded. Care was observed to credit to each issue only the number of lines actually involved in discussing the issue as such, and not to credit to it lines which may have been devoted to a broader topic of which the issue was simply one phase. It was at times quite difficult to determine accurately just what portion of the space should be accredited to a particular issue, in view of the fact that in the discussion of a topic of which an issue was a part, sentences dealing with the topic were often inextricably involved with those dealing with the issue. In such cases considerable patience and attention were expended to the end that the entire passage might be grasped as clearly as possible, after which as equitable an apportionment of the space to the issue as the

TABLE III

AUTHORITATIVE TREATISES
ANALYZED FOR ISSUES IN TEN SOCIAL FIELDS

1. *Government*
 - (a) Beard, C. A. *American Government and Politics*. 787 pp. Fourth edition, revised, 1924.
 - (b) Bryce, J. *The American Commonwealth*. 530 pp. Abridged edition, revised, 1906.
 - (c) Munro, W. B. *The Government of the United States*. 656 pp. Revised edition, 1925.
 - (d) Young, J. T. *The New American Government and Its Work*. 712 pp. Second revised edition, 1923.
2. *Practical Politics*
 - (a) Brooks, R. C. *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*. 584 pp. 1923.
 - (b) Ray, P. O. *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*. 602 pp. New and revised edition, 1917.
3. *Public Finance*
 - (a) Lutz, H. L. *Public Finance*. 671 pp. 1924.
 - (b) Plehn, C. C. *Introduction to Public Finance*. 434 pp. Fifth edition, 1926.
4. *Courts and the Judiciary*
 - (a) Baldwin, S. E. *The American Judiciary*. 386 pp. 1905.
 - (b) Bruce, A. A. *The American Judge*. 212 pp. 1924.
5. *Foreign Relations*
 - (a) Buell, R. L. *International Relations*. 708 pp. 1925.
 - (b) Gibbons, H. A. *America's Place in the World*. 217 pp. 1924.
6. *Immigration*
 - (a) Fairchild, H. P. *Immigration*. 500 pp. Revised edition, 1925.
 - (b) Jenks, J. W. and Lauck, W. J. *The Immigration Problem*. 461 pp. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged, 1922.
7. *Criminology*
 - (a) Parmelee, M. *Criminology*. 492 pp. 1918.
 - (b) Sutherland, E. H. *Criminology*. 633 pp. 1924.
8. *Labor and Capital*
 - (a) Catlin, W. B. *The Labor Problem*. 639 pp. 1926.
 - (b) Watkins, G. S. *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*. 649 pp. 1922.
9. *Education*
 - (a) Bagley, W. C. and Keith, J. A. H. *An Introduction to Teaching*. 384 pp. 1924.
 - (b) Cubberley, E. P. *An Introduction to the Study of Education and to Teaching*. 465 pp. 1925.
10. *Social Welfare*
 - (a) Ellwood, C. A. *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*. 408 pp. New edition, revised, 1924.
 - (b) Groves, E. R. *Social Problems and Education*. 454 pp. 1925.

circumstances permitted was made. Fortunately the need did not often arise for such trying and uncertain methods of determining space; fortunately, also, it was almost invariably true that the space whose relationship was doubtful was small in comparison to the space indisputably belonging to an issue in question. Owing to the fact that a large number of issues were found to be presented by mere mention in a line or two, the line was adopted as the unit for recording space, making possible larger accuracy in measurement.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TREATISE ISSUES

The ten fields determined upon as the basis for the selection of treatises also formed, with one exception, the major groups into which the issues were assorted. The issues in the field of government, being most numerous and lending themselves quite naturally to a division, were listed separately under the three heads of national government, state government, and local government, thus bringing the total number of groups to twelve in all. It is obvious, of course, that there is much overlapping among these groups. The government treatises, for example, produced issues belonging to all (except one) of the other nine fields (Table VI). Immigration issues were discovered not only in the treatises dealing specifically with that subject, but also in the treatises on government, foreign relations, labor and capital, and social welfare. In whatever field a particular issue was found, it was always relegated to that category to which it belonged. True, it was frequently quite puzzling as to which field a certain issue should properly be assigned, but in each case an arbitrary classification was made and consistently adhered to. That this classification in some instances was truly arbitrary will be readily apparent when the issues are examined. As the determination was to avoid an additional miscellaneous group, however, a few rather forced and irrelevant classifications were inevitable.

PREPARATION OF A RANK ORDER LIST OF TREATISE ISSUES

Criterion for Evaluating Issues. The amount of space accorded the discussion of each issue has been used as the criterion for the evaluation of the treatise issues. The validity of this criterion depends upon the correlation between the amount of space de-

voted to an issue and the importance of that issue. The degree of this correlation, in turn, hinges upon the type of book we are dealing with. In any case, however, the correlation may reasonably be assumed to be positive. It is hardly conceivable that a volume can be found wherein it is consistently true that the more important an issue is, the smaller the amount of space devoted to its discussion. The question, then, comes down to one of the *degree* of correlation.

In the informal, descriptive type of book, space has probably but slight relation to the importance of a topic. Matters may be mentioned or not according to the predilections of the author; a passing whim may elevate a minute point to a voluminous dignity or cast aside with scant notice a weighty theme. In the more formal, systematic treatise, however, this is probably not true. The treatise as a rule deals with the more firmly established and better organized subjects. The main lines of their content are fixed; it is only their details, usually, that vary with individuals and points of view. Certain major topics are invariably treated; certain others, the more minor ones, customarily appear, though occasionally in the less conservative volume they may become lost in the competition with slight innovations that are introduced. In such a systematic presentation of a more or less standardized field vagaries of treatment find no place. The more important topics are dealt with in full; the lesser ones in briefer form. As it is with topics, so it is with issues. In view of this, it is firmly believed that in those treatises such as have been used in this study, there is a high positive correlation between the importance of issues and the amount of space devoted to them. Our evaluation of the treatise issues has been based on this premise. Chapter VII, which draws comparisons between the text and the treatise issues, will furnish evidence of the fact that this premise is sound.

Space Calculations Made Comparable. The unit adopted for the measurement of space is the line. Mere summation of the number of lines devoted to each issue, however, will not give an adequate picture of the importance of the issue. This simple method would no doubt serve in making comparisons between issues within the covers of one book; outside the book the figures would not be comparable for the patent reason that five lines of space in a volume of seven hundred pages are not of the same

importance as an equivalent space in a two hundred page volume. In view of this fact the fractional proportion of the entire available space in a book is the unit of comparison used for evaluating the issues. This renders issues from different treatises comparable.

Since the unit of measurement originally employed to record the space devoted to each issue was the line, the whole space in each treatise was reduced to this unit. This was easily accomplished by multiplying the total number of pages of text by the number of lines in the full page.³ The number of lines used in discussing each issue, divided by the total number of lines thus computed, gave the proportionate space occupied by that issue in the book. This computation was made for each of the 807 issues gathered from the twenty-two treatises analyzed. The resulting decimal fraction indicated the relative value of each issue; the integer 1 was introduced to the left of the decimal point in each fraction to signify that the issue had appeared in one treatise. All issues within each field were then ranked by this decimal. The decimal fractions of issues appearing more than once were added, as were also the integers before them. Thus, if an issue appeared in one treatise with a proportionate space of .00723 devoted to it, it was credited with the decimal 1.00723. If the same issue appeared in a second treatise with space of .00547, it had a value of 1.00547. If it was also found in a third treatise with space of .00575, the issue here had a value of 1.00575. In order to give this issue its proper ranking, these three decimals were added, the result being 3.01845. The whole number 3 indicates that the issue appeared in three treatises; the fraction to the right of the decimal point indicates the relative importance of the issue among others appearing in a like number of treatises. This method operates to keep issues appearing in different numbers of treatises separate. Ranking was within groups of issues appearing in a certain number of treatises. The groups themselves were ranked according to the number of treatises they represented. This procedure was adopted on the assumption that the number of treatises in which an issue appeared was a weightier consideration in determining its importance than the amount

³ In computing both the number of lines in the page and the number of pages in the book, gross figures were used; i.e., no deductions were made for footnotes, charts, etc., in the case of the former, and no deductions for lists of references, exercises, partially blank pages, etc., in the latter.

of space it had in these treatises. The question came up specifically in this form: There are two issues. One appears in but one treatise, with proportionate space of .01605. The other appears in two treatises, with space respectively of .00268 and .00125, or a combined space of .00393. Which should rank higher? With space alone as the criterion, of course the issue appearing in but one treatise gets the higher ranking. But if the number of appearances, or the frequency of the issue, is taken as an added criterion, then the issue appearing in two treatises may receive the higher rank. In order to bring this about, it was determined to prefix the integer 1 to each decimal fraction. In our example this gave the first issue a value of 1.01605, and the second a value of 2.00393, thus affording the latter clearly the higher ranking.

CHAPTER IV

PROCEDURE: A QUESTIONNAIRE

At this stage of the investigation several questions had accumulated to which answers were desired. Since the information sought was obtainable only by a survey of practice in the field, the questionnaire method was decided upon. The main problems were three in number.

To what extent are important issues recognized in social science classes? This was the first problem. In order to shed some light on it, a group of twenty issues that ranked highest in our textbook list was selected. This list of issues was to be presented to high school social science teachers, who were to check those which they recognized as having come up for discussion in their classes. Since the issues had been derived from representative high school texts, it was fair to assume a large likelihood that the majority of them had, at one time or another, confronted both teachers and pupils in social science classes. Were these issues recognized in the work of these classes? It was thought that the results from this question would indicate in some degree the measure of attention that leading issues command in the secondary school.

Secondly, it was considered worth while to attempt a survey of the methods utilized in the presentation and discussion of social issues in high schools, in order that an answer to the question, How are issues treated in social science classes? might be reached. There are many views on how open issues should be handled. No one method of attack has been proved best. It seemed, therefore, that a determination of the procedures now generally employed would be the initial step to take in a study of this problem.

A third question to which an answer was sought was this: To what extent are the exercises in social science texts used? Our analysis revealed the fact that nearly half of the issues in

civics texts are found in the exercises. In consequence, it is obvious that unless exercise material is made use of, a major part of the issues appearing in civics texts will be lost.

A questionnaire embodying these points was drawn up. With a view to rendering them as objective as possible, the items in it were so formulated as to be answerable by either a word or a mark. A space for comments and additional suggestions was provided in which those who had further information to contribute on the subject matter of the questionnaire which had not been tapped might express themselves.

Approximately one thousand copies of the questionnaire were sent to as many social science teachers in the high schools of four states. In order to obtain lists of teachers, letters were sent to eleven state departments of education in the East, Middle West, and Far West requesting copies of state directories. Requests were addressed only to those states which were known to have published previously directories indicating not only the names of high school teachers, but also the subjects which each taught. Five departments wrote that directories of high school teachers were no longer printed; one department failed to reply; another sent a directory which arrived too late to be of service.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE LINCOLN SCHOOL OF TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK CITY

January 15, 1928

In connection with a study being made in social science, it has been found necessary to determine the status of the teaching of social issues in American high schools. You are one of a group of teachers who are being asked to contribute to this study the benefit of your knowledge and experience. The term "issue" as here used is understood to mean questions like the following, which present for judgment problems of current debate:

Should Cabinet members have seats in Congress?

Should trial by jury be abolished?

These and hundreds of other such issues bulk large in importance among the materials of the social studies. Are the major issues of the day recognized in our social science classrooms? What is being done to fit pupils to take intelligent stands regarding these issues? These questions are of distinct moment to all interested in a more effective program of social science instruction in the high schools. By your co-operation it is hoped

that a knowledge of the present status of the teaching of issues may be gained which will point the way toward a more systematic and effectual handling of issues in social science courses.

You are assured that no individual returns will be reported, as data received will be used only in the mass.

Will you please fill out and return this blank at once?

Very truly yours,

BALDWIN LEE

Research Assistant

Please check, or fill in, or encircle Y if "yes" and N if "no," as required

- (a) 4 year high school()
 - (b) 6 year junior-senior high school()
1. Type of school
 - (c) 3 year junior high school()
 - (d) 3 year senior high school()
 - (e)()
2. Name of social science course you are teaching (not including history):

(a) civics()	(e) social problems()
(b) citizenship()	(f) sociology()
(c) social science()	(g) economics()
(d) current problems()	(h)()
3. Grade in which course is given:
 6th (); 7th (); 8th (); 9th (); 10th (); 11th (); 12th ().
4. Is a textbook regularly used for the course? Y N
 - (a) Author?
 - (b) Title?
5. Are issues as such recognized in your teaching in this course (e.g., by classroom discussion, lectures, outside assignments, etc.)? Y N
 (In the following, fill in 0 for "never"; 1 for "sometimes"; 2 for "largely"; 3 for "always".)
 - (a) Are issues which you take up drawn from the textbook?()
 - (b) Are they suggested for discussion by the instructor?()
 - (c) Are they brought forward for discussion by pupils?()
 - (d) Are they developed out of classroom discussion?()
6. Check those of the following issues which you recognize as having come up for discussion in any way in your class within the past year or two:
 - (a) Should there be government ownership of telegraphs and railways?()
 - (b) Should public utilities be owned and operated by the city? ..()
 - (c) Should home rule be granted to cities and counties in the United States?()
 - (d) Should the initiative and the referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation?()
 - (e) Should the direct primary method of nomination be used in all general elections?()
 - (f) Should there be an educational qualification for voting?()
 - (g) Should the short ballot be adopted for general elections?()

- (h) Should the United States adopt a policy of free trade? ()
- (i) Should the commission form of government for cities be approved? ()
- (j) Should members of the President's Cabinet have seats in Congress? ()
- (k) Should independence be granted to the Philippine Islands? .. ()
- (l) Should capital punishment be abolished? ()
- (m) Should a federal department of education be created with a secretary in the Cabinet? ()
- (n) Should immigration into the United States be further restricted? ()
- (o) Should the presidential term be lengthened with no privilege of re-election? ()
- (p) Should presidential candidates be nominated by presidential preference primaries? ()
- (q) Should judges be selected by popular vote? ()
- (r) Should there be a property qualification for voting? ()
- (s) Should elective officials be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired? ()
- (t) Should the situation wherein newly elected Congressmen do not take their seats until thirteen months after their election be remedied? ()

7. How are issues handled in your class?

- (a) Is the attitude of the author of the text used generally the one accepted and taught? Y N
- (b) Does the instructor usually teach that attitude on each issue which in his judgment seems correct? Y N
- (c) Are issues freely discussed pro and con, the arguments on either side being clearly presented? Y N
- (d) Is some decision on one side or the other of each issue aimed at? Y N
- (e) Does the instructor teach the attitude reflected in the community? Y N
- (f) Are controversial issues (e.g., Should the Ku Klux Klan be abolished?) avoided? Y N
- (g) Are restrictions on the full and free discussion of certain issues imposed by the school authorities? Y N

8. Do you make use of the exercises in your textbook? Y N

- (a) Regularly? Y N
- (b) By discussion in class? Y N
- (c) By referring pupils to them for aid in preparing lessons? ... Y N
- (d) By assigning reports to be made on topics suggested in the exercises? Y N
- (e) By holding each pupil responsible for preparing himself on a certain topic listed in the exercises? Y N

9. Write here any comments, suggestions, or special experience you have had with regard to the handling of issues in social science classes.

.....

.....

10. *Please return immediately.* If you do not choose to fill out this blank please indicate your reason below and return at once.

I do not choose to fill out this blank because:

11. Teacher to whom this blank was sent:

- (a) Name
- (b) Position
- (c) Name of school
- (d) Address of school

The four state directories finally available for the study were those of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. These were examined, and the name of each teacher indicated as teaching social science (not including history) was checked. The total number of such teachers was about twelve hundred. In view of the fact that it had previously been decided to send out one thousand questionnaires, and that this number of copies had been prepared, it became necessary to eliminate two hundred of this total. This was done by excluding those teachers listed as teaching a half dozen subjects or more, the assumption being that it would be purely accidental if any of these had a major interest in the social science field. Perhaps the comment should be interpolated here that in the educational directory of Nebraska the names of teachers in the larger cities were listed without the subject or subjects taught, and, consequently, the teachers in these cities were not reached. Also, while in the majority of cases in each state history teachers were separately indicated as such, in a number of instances they were included in the general designation of social science; and where this was done and it happened that the only subject in the social science field these teachers taught was history, the questionnaire sent them of course could not be filled out. Questionnaires were sent out to the various states in the following numbers: Illinois, 307; Iowa, 223; Nebraska, 46; Wisconsin, 419; total, 995. Aside from the eliminations noted above, a questionnaire was sent to every social science teacher listed in the educational directories of the four states. There were represented in the group teachers in large metropolitan high schools, those in small urban high schools, as well as those in high schools in remote rural communities.

The questionnaires were mailed with stamped and addressed envelopes enclosed to facilitate their return. Unfortunately, they

were sent out in the middle of January, at a time when most schools were approaching or already actually engaged in their final examinations. This, undoubtedly, was a factor affecting the returns, in spite of the fact that the questionnaire was brief and required but a very few moments to fill out. Eighteen days after the questionnaire had been mailed, 403 replies were on hand, but from the fast dwindling number coming in it was con-

THE LINCOLN SCHOOL OF TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York City

Our records to date show that a return has not been received from you on the social issues questionnaire sent you recently. As a short time still remains before tabulating begins, we greatly hope that you will send in your reply, for we are relying on it for much needed data. Will you not fill out and forward your blank to us at once?

Feb. 2, 1928

Very truly yours,
BALDWIN LEE,
Research Assistant.

cluded that the returns would soon stop unless some added stimulus was introduced. This was done in the form of a follow-up card. One card was sent to each of the six hundred teachers who had made no reply to the questionnaire. One hundred fifty-six additional replies resulted from this, so that in all there were at hand at the time of tabulation, five hundred fifty-nine replies.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS: ISSUES FROM THE CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

RANK ORDER LIST OF THE TEXT ISSUES BY SUBJECT

A. Issues of Government—National

1. Should the telegraph, telephone, and railroad systems be owned and operated by the federal government? (12)

Beard and Beard, 58; Burch and Patterson, 285; Davis-McClure, 231; Dunn, 114; Forman, 229; Garner, 247; Guitteau, 326; Harman, 97; Hill, 410; Hughes, 197; Magruder, 29, 177; Munro, 303.¹

2. Should members of the President's Cabinet be given seats in Congress? The right to vote also? (9)

Boynton, 212; Davis-McClure, 132; Forman, 117; Garner, 216, 351; Guitteau, 325; Hill, 500; Hughes, 398; Magruder, 113; Munro, 222, 242.

3. Should the President be elected for a longer term and made ineligible for reelection? (8)

Ashley, 311; Boynton, 173; Davis-McClure, 120; Forman, 124; Garner, 296; Hill, 504; Magruder, 136; Munro, 217.

4. Should a newly elected Congress be required to assemble shortly after the election instead of about thirteen months thereafter, as is the present rule? (7)

Ashley, 288; Davis-McClure, 105; Garner, 196; Haskin, 62; Hill, 485; Hughes, 363; Magruder, 112.

5. Should the committee system of legislation as practiced in Congress be approved? (4)

Boynton, 155; Garner, 202; Guitteau, 275; Hughes, 364.

¹ These names refer to the books by the respective authors as listed in Table I. The numbers specify the page in each book on which the issue was found. "Harman" refers to Harman, Tucker, and Wrench: *American Citizenship Practice*. The figures in parentheses immediately following the issue indicate the number of different textbooks in which the issue appeared. The issues presented in this chapter are ranked on the basis of these figures.

6. Should the number of members in the House of Representatives be reduced? (4)

Boynton, 90; Davis-McClure, 109; Garner, 195; Munro, 218.

7. Should the requirement that a Congressman be a resident of the Congressional district from which he is chosen be removed? (4)

Boynton, 92, 266; Forman, 22; Garner, 178; Guitteau, 266.

8. Should provision be made for the ratification of amendments to the Constitution by direct popular vote? (4)

Ashley, 286; Hughes, 341; Magruder, 60; Munro, 217.

9. Should legislation in the United States tend toward a centralized government rather than toward a further extension of state rights? (4)

Ashley, 56, 284; Beard and Beard, 177; Boynton, 31; Munro, 210.

10. Should the Constitution of the United States be liberally construed? (3)

Beard and Beard, 305; Boynton, 138; Hughes, 380.

11. Should a legislator be bound by the will of a majority of his constituents when voting on proposed legislation? (3)

Forman, 23; Garner, 90; Magruder, 75, 295.

12. Should equal representation by states in the Senate be approved? (3)

Boynton, 99; Garner, 196; Magruder, 74.

13. Should there be universal military training in the United States? (3)

Harman, 463; Hughes, 89; Munro, 465.

14. Should the President be limited to two terms of office? (2)

Hill, 486, 499; Hughes, 370.

15. Should the length of time between the election of the President and his inauguration be shortened? (2)

Haskin, 62; Munro, 238.

16. Should the President be given the power to veto individual items in any financial measure without vetoing the whole bill? In all measures, financial or otherwise? (2)

Guitteau, 311; Munro, 231.

17. Should appointments to office by civil service rules be approved? (2)

Ashley, 126; Davis-McClure, 156.

18. Should the spoils system in party government be approved? (2)

Ashley, 123; Hughes, 329.

19. Should the "checks and balances" system obtaining in American government be approved? (2)

Hughes, 338; Magruder, 58.

20. Should a national department of public health be created, with a secretary at its head who sits in the President's Cabinet? A department of public welfare? Of public works? (2)

Garner, 352; Hill, 500.

21. Should the power of Congress under the commerce clause be restricted? (2)

Ashley, 306, 419; Boynton, 147.

22. Should a two-thirds vote of the Senate be necessary to ratify a treaty? (2)

Boynton, 142; Hughes, 373.

23. Should Congress have the power, by a two-thirds vote of each house, to reënact a law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on a divided opinion? On a unanimous opinion? (2)

Magruder, 60; Munro, 260.

24. Should the practice of "senatorial courtesy" in the United States Senate be approved? (2)

Forman, 117; Guitteau, 258.

25. Should a member of either house of Congress consider the interests of his state or district as being of more importance than those of the nation? (2)

Davis-McClure, 65; Forman, 106.

26. Should all coal mines be taken over and operated by the government? (2)

Forman, 232; Munro, 270.

27. Should the government subsidize the merchant marine? (2)

Garner, 247; Guitteau, 379.

28. Should the English parliamentary system of government be favored for the United States? (2)

Ashley, 318; Hughes, 355.

29. Should the President have the power to make treaties without the concurrence of the Senate? (2)

Davis-McClure, 132; Magruder, 76.

30. Should members of Congress receive higher salaries? (2)

Ashley, 290; Magruder, 75.

31. Should the powers enjoyed by the President of the United States be reduced? (1)

Hill, 499.

32. Should Congress create the position of Assistant to the President in order to relieve the chief executive somewhat of the great mass of detail to which he must now give personal attention? (1)

Haskin, 54.

33. Should the proposal that members of the President's Cabinet be elected by the people be approved? (1)

Garner, 323, 352.

34. Should the President's Cabinet be composed of an equal number of members from both political parties? (1)

Garner, 352.

35. Should the Vice-President be given an increased power, either through a seat in the Cabinet or a vote in the Senate, or both? (1)

Boynton, 190.

36. Should the proposal to make government more efficient and centralized by consolidating the executive and legislative departments into one body be approved? (1)

Forman, 29.

37. Should the states in the American union be abolished? (1)

Hughes, 355.

38. Should the secretary of war be an army officer? (1)

Garner, 352.

39. Should the United States depend upon a selective draft rather than a voluntary system to recruit its army in time of war? (1)

Ashley, 471.

40. Should there be a federal board of pardons to pass upon the validity of all pardons issued by the President? (1)

Garner, 323.

41. Should political parties be abolished in the United States? (1)

Davis-McClure, 92.

42. Should the President, in making appointments, take into consideration the politics of the appointee? (1)

Garner, 323.

43. Should the power of appointment carry with it the power of removal? (1)

Ashley, 134.

44. Should the United States government provide for an old age pension for its civil service employees? (1)

Davis-McClure, 163.

45. Should the principle of rotation in office be approved? (1)

Harman, 202.

46. Should employment or personnel bureaus be substituted for civil service boards to study and select by the employment methods of business capable young men and women for public offices? (1)

Munro, 116.

47. Should the qualifications for voting for representatives in Congress be determined by national authority instead of by the states? (1)

Garner, 196.

48. Should the term of office of members of the House of Representatives be lengthened? (1)

Boynton, 93.

49. Should Congress permit to take his seat a member who is expelled, but whose constituents reëlect him after his expulsion? (1)

Forman, 117.

50. Should Congress have the right to tax exports as well as imports? (1)

Boynton, 144.

51. Should the power of confirming presidential appointments be taken from the Senate? (1)

Boynton, 142.

52. Should the President be prohibited from removing officers except for good cause and with the consent of the Senate? (1)

Garner, 323.

53. Should Congressmen be permitted unrestricted use of the franking privilege? (1)

Magruder, 75.

54. Should Congress have the right to propose amendments by

a bare majority vote instead of a two-thirds vote of each house? (1)

Magruder, 60.

55. Should the minority party be given a larger representation on the committees of Congress and larger privileges of debate? (1)

Garner, 216.

56. Should the Speaker of the House of Representatives be also a member of that body? (1)

Boynton, 193

57. Should the Speaker of the House of Representatives be chosen simply for his ability as a presiding officer and parliamentarian and hold no other office? (1)

Boynton, 193

58. Should women be elected to Congress? (1)

Magruder, 75.

59. Should the Congressional practice of attaching "riders" to important bills be condemned? (1)

Boynton, 184.

60. Should secret sessions of the Senate be abandoned? (1)

Boynton, 141.

61. Should some definite measures be taken against the "pork barrel" system of Congress? (1)

Harmon, 449.

62. Should the rule in the Senate permitting unlimited debate, which makes filibustering possible, be rescinded? (1)

Magruder, 113.

63. Should a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress be required for the passage of appropriation bills? (1)

Magruder, 113.

64. Should all lobbyists be required to register with the clerk of the House in order that it might be known publicly how much

and what kind of influence is being brought to bear on Congress? (1)

Magruder, 112.

65. Should "log-rolling" be prohibited in American legislatures? (1)

Hughes, 359.

66. Should a representative resign if his views are not in accord with those of his constituents? (1)

Forman, 23.

67. Should some of the committees in either of the houses of Congress be dispensed with? (1)

Hughes, 364.

68. Should public documents printed by authority of Congress be distributed free of cost to all who desire them? (1)

Garner, 196.

69. Should mining fields belonging to the government be rented, and the payment of a royalty of a certain sum to the government for each ton mined be required? (1)

Hughes, 255.

70. Should the government permit private individuals who have money and enterprise to go into its mining fields and help themselves (as was done with fields in Alaska)? (1)

Hughes, 254.

71. Should the government assume the responsibility in the case of Western desert lands of constructing reservoirs and systems of irrigating canals in order to make water available for cultivation of the land? (1)

Hughes, 256.

72. Should the federal government adopt a policy of conservation of its natural resources? (1)

Beard and Beard, 59, 199.

73. Should the government prevent the acquisition of public lands except by settlers who will make them productive? (1)

Dunn, 128.

74. Should there be any area or population requirements for the admission of new states to the union? (1)

Hughes, 335.

75. Should the manufacture and sale of gunpowder be undertaken by the government? Illuminating gas? Ice? (1)

Forman, 232.

76. Should a government monopoly of the liquor business, with liquor sold by local dispensers under severe restrictions, be adopted in the United States? (1)

Guitteau, 137.

77. Should the telegraph business be conducted by the post office department? (1)

Forman, 337.

78. Should there be government ownership of all natural monopolies? (1)

Beard and Beard, 191.

79. Should the parcel post be extended to include practically all of the express business? (1)

Beard and Beard, 306.

80. Should the postal rates on second class mailing matter be increased? (1)

Garner, 251.

81. Should the postal rates on magazines be higher than those on newspapers? (1)

Garner, 251.

82. Should a higher postal rate be imposed on advertising matter than on purely reading matter? (1)

Garner, 251.

83. Should a federal bankruptcy law be adopted? (1)

Guitteau, 444.

84. Should the power of the national government be increased so as to include the regulation of marriage and divorce? The business of corporations? Factory labor? Insurance? (1)

Garner, 71.

85. Should the federal government assist in road-making? (1)

Forman, 337.

86. Should the metric system of weights and measures be established by federal law? (1)

Guitteau, 444.

87. Should the granting of a patent securing to an inventor a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of his invention be approved? (1)

Garner, 272.

88. Should the manufacture of a patented article be permitted anybody who will pay the patentee a uniform royalty determined by the government? (1)

Magruder, 97.

89. Should the national government publish a daily newspaper containing information about governmental activities? (1)

Hill, 410

90. Should the Senate's power in relation to treaties be curtailed? (1)

Munro, 489.

B. Issues of Government—State

1. Should there be uniform legislation in all states? (2)

Beard and Beard, 241; Hughes, 80.

2. Should the decentralized system of administration in state government be adopted? (2)

Ashley, 58; Guitteau, 114.

3. Should the Torrens (Australian) system of land registration, providing for the conveyance of real property by registration and certification of title, be adopted? (2)

Harman, 225; Magruder, 360.

4. Should all state executive officers except the governor be appointed by that official? (1)

Magruder, 306.

5. Should the appointive power of the governor be enlarged? (1)

Garner, 107.

6. Should there be a consolidation of offices in state government? (1)

Forman, 171.

7. Should the Illinois plan of cabinet government be adopted by all states? (1)

Hill, 471.

8. Should the whole responsibility of granting pardons rest upon the governor of the state? (1)

Hughes, 319.

9. Should the governor have the right to veto bills passed by the legislature? (1)

Ashley, 255.

10. Should a rule be adopted providing that bills which the governor has had introduced shall have precedence in the lower house of the state legislature over all other measures except appropriation bills? (1)

Magruder, 307.

11. Should the initiative be adopted for amending the state constitution? (1)

Magruder, 275.

12. Should the state legislature pay its members by the year

and permit them to prolong legislative sessions as long as necessary? (1)

Magruder, 294.

13. Should sessions of the state legislature be held biennially? (1)

Boynton, 295.

14. Should there be an organization in each state to keep the people informed as to the record of its legislators? (1)

Magruder, 295.

15. Should state public service commissions be established for the regulation of municipal utilities? (1)

Ashley, 235.

16. Should a single-chambered legislature for states be approved? (1)

Garner, 75.

17. Should a budget system be established in each state to organize its finances? (1)

Harman, 303.

18. Should the state aid the local authorities in road-making? (1)

Guitteau, 37.

19. Should regulation of the liquor traffic be by local option instead of state prohibition? (1)

Guitteau, 136.

C. Issues of Government—Local

1. Should there be public ownership and operation of municipal utilities (water, gas, electricity, telephone, and transportation)? (13)

Ashley, 231; Beard and Beard, 58, 254; Boynton, 318; Burch and Patterson, 137; Davis-McClure, 36; Dunn, 118; Forman, 232, 415; Garner, 50, 55; Guitteau, 69; Harman, 264; Hughes, 37; Magruder, 29, 398; Munro, 403.

2. Should the commission form of government be favored for American cities? (10)

Ashley, 209; Davis-McClure, 161; Dunn, 236; Forman, 215; Garner, 51; Guitteau, 45; Harman, 234, 243, 248; Hill, 452; Hughes, 388; Magruder, 371.

3. Should the policy of home rule for cities be approved? (8)

Ashley, 204; Beard and Beard, 131; Burch and Patterson, 127; Dunn, 231; Forman, 68; Garner, 32, 55; Hill, 454; Hughes, 348, 355.

4. Should the city manager form of government be adopted in American cities? (7)

Ashley, 210; Dunn, 238; Forman, 215; Harman, 235, 246, 248; Hill, 452; Hughes, 389; Magruder, 373.

5. Should there be home rule for counties in the United States? (5)

Ashley, 263; Dunn, 226; Forman, 187; Magruder, 360; Munro, 131.

6. Should municipal police be under state control? (4)

Davis-McClure, 33; Garner, 44; Guitteau, 62; Hill, 208.

7. Should ice plants be established and operated by the city? Heating plants? (3)

Beard and Beard, 259; Forman, 229; Magruder, 29.

8. Should the council-mayor type of government for cities be abandoned? (3)

Forman, 215; Hill, 443; Magruder, 365.

9. Should members of the city council be selected on a general ticket without reference to ward lines? (3)

Boynton, 326; Burch and Patterson, 129; Garner, 36.

10. Should the spoils system in city politics be restricted through the adoption of some form of municipal civil service? (2)

Ashley, 213; Guitteau, 47.

11. Should comprehensive city planning be adopted by American cities? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 120; Forman, 422.

12. Should government be concentrated in the hands of the mayor in municipal government? (2)

Ashley, 207; Guitteau, 47.

13. Should the power of state legislatures over cities be limited? (2)

Garner, 33; Guitteau, 44.

14. Should municipal councils be single-chambered bodies? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 129; Guitteau, 50.

15. Should city elections be non-partisan; i.e., should nominations by political parties and use of party emblems and names on ballots be prohibited? (2)

Beard and Beard, 135, 153; Hughes, 417.

16. Should local government in the United States be on the basis of a decentralized system? (1)

Guitteau, 23.

17. Should county and city government be merged so as to save the expense of a double organization? (1)

Magruder, 360.

18. Should county boards have the power to appoint all other county officers? (1)

Davis-McClure, 50.

19. Should the commissioner system of municipal administration rather than the board system be used? (1)

Guitteau, 58.

20. Should city officials be required to give an undivided service to the public and refrain from engaging in any other business? (1)

Boynton, 327.

21. Should the borrowing power of cities be limited by the state? (1)

Garner, 43.

22. Should wharves be owned and managed by the city? (1)

Magruder, 397.

23. Should the legislative and executive powers of municipal government be lodged in the same body of men? (1)

Beard and Beard, 84.

24. Should the office of county treasurer be dispensed with and the taxes collected and warrants paid by a designated bank for about half the usual cost (as in some Southern counties)? (1)

Magruder, 360.

25. Should the revenue of a city be dependent almost exclusively on a real estate tax? (1)

Ashley, 218.

26. Should a regular budget be adopted by all cities? (1)

Ashley, 215.

27. Should local officers assist in enforcing national laws? (1)

Hughes, 386.

28. Should the city government undertake to erect modern tenements and rent them at moderate rates under conditions which would prevent overcrowding? (1)

Munro, 458.

29. Should cities build homes for workingmen as is done in Buenos Ayres? (1)

Magruder, 398.

30. Should the movement for municipal playgrounds be approved? (1)

Guitteau, 65.

31. Should cash prizes be offered to city employees who make valuable suggestions for the betterment of the service in the various departments? (1)

Magruder, 398.

D. Issues of Practical Politics

1. Should the nomination of candidates for public office be by the system of direct primaries? (12)

Ashley, 110; Beard and Beard, 165; Boynton, 291; Burch and Patterson, 103, 108; Davis-McClure, 87, 158; Dunn, 193; Forman, 220; Garner, 156; Guitteau, 464; Hughes, 404; Magruder, 414; Munro, 97.

2. Should the short ballot plan be adopted for all general elections? (11)

Ashley, 119; Beard and Beard, 165; Burch and Patterson, 101; Davis-McClure, 158; Dunn, 203; Forman, 364; Guitteau, 454; Harman, 191; Hill, 522; Hughes, 416; Magruder, 420.

3. Should the initiative and the referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation in each state? (11)

Ashley, 146; Beard and Beard, 138, 161; Boynton, 291; Burch and Patterson, 107; Davis-McClure, 160; Dunn, 209; Forman, 157; Guitteau, 103; Harman, 238; Hill, 450; Hughes, 390.

4. Should there be an educational qualification for voting? (10)

Ashley, 120; Beard and Beard, 75; Boynton, 273; Davis-McClure, 90, 199; Forman, 15; Garner, 143; Guitteau, 466; Harman, 180; Hughes, 421; Munro, 94.

5. Should elective officials be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired? (9)

Ashley, 128; Beard and Beard, 161; Davis-McClure, 160; Dunn, 208; Forman, 170; Harman, 146, 201; Hill, 450; Hughes, 394; Munro, 190.

6. Should the electoral college be abolished and provision be made for the direct popular election of the President? (7)

Boynton, 179, 181; Davis-McClure, 132; Forman, 124; Hill, 488, 503; Hughes, 410; Magruder, 136; Munro, 217.

7. Should presidential candidates be nominated through presidential preference primaries? (7)

Beard and Beard, 107; Boynton, 181; Dunn, 194; Garner, 297; Harman, 168; Magruder, 271; Munro, 232.

8. Should aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens be permitted to vote? (7)

Ashley, 120; Beard and Beard, 221; Boynton, 273; Davis-McClure, 90; Dunn, 46; Guitteau, 466; Hughes, 400.

9. Should the system of proportional representation be adopted? (6)

Ashley, 122; Forman, 20; Garner, 77; Harman, 183; Hughes, 416; Munro, 103.

10. Should there be a property qualification for voting? A taxpaying qualification? (5)

Beard and Beard, 74; Davis-McClure, 90; Forman, 290; Guitteau, 467, 473; Magruder, 19.

11. Should voting be compulsory on the part of those having the vote? (4)

Forman, 15; Hill, 527; Hughes, 447; Magruder, 271.

12. Should a member of a political party feel obligated to vote a straight party ticket at all elections? (4)

Ashley, 144; Garner, 158; Hughes, 421; Magruder, 271.

13. Should suffrage for women be approved? (4)

Garner, 128; Guitteau, 473; Harman, 329; Hughes, 401.

14. Should every voter join a political party and identify himself with its policies? (3)

Ashley, 144; Garner, 158; Hill, 524.

15. Should registration be required before voting? (3)

Boynton, 273; Davis-McClure, 89; Harman, 184.

16. Should United States senators be elected by the direct vote of the people? (3)

Boynton, 109; Guitteau, 257; Harman, 329.

17. Should the plan of preferential voting be adopted for use in general elections? (3)

Dunn, 208; Harman, 184; Hughes, 417.

18. Should a plurality vote be sufficient for election to public office? (3)

Boynton, 276; Forman, 23; Harman, 192.

19. Should the expenses of national political campaigns be limited by Congress and paid out of the national treasury? (2)

Hill, 527; Magruder, 271.

20. Should the Constitution be amended to provide for the use of the initiative and the referendum for making national laws? (2)

Ashley, 155; Munro, 217.

21. Should political parties be allowed to receive campaign contributions from corporations? (2)

Ashley, 122; Garner, 143.

22. Should the secret ballot be used in all general elections? (2)

Boynton, 275; Harman, 177.

23. Should the method of nomination by petition be employed in general elections? (2)

Guitteau, 465; Harman, 171.

24. Should the right to vote be further restricted? (2)

Boynton, 273; Dunn, 199.

25. Should a system of representation by occupational groups be adopted? (2)

Davis-McClure, 65; Forman, 23.

26. Should women have full legal rights equal to those of men in all states? (2)

Ashley, 164; Munro, 215.

27. Should citizens living in the city of Washington be given some representation in the government that controls them? (2)

Beard and Beard, 216; Magruder, 218.

28. Should voting machines be used in general elections? (2)

Hill, 521; Magruder, 419.

29. Should municipal elections be separated from state and national elections so that candidates for local offices may be chosen more on account of individual fitness than from a partisan standpoint? (1)

Guitteau, 47, 465.

30. Should Congress be given the power to place a limit on campaign expenditures? (1)

Munro, 217.

31. Should Congress be given the power to compel the use of presidential primaries? (1)

Munro, 217.

32. Should there be an intelligence test for voting? (1)

Munro, 94.

33. Should a voter leave a political party when he cannot agree entirely with its views? (1)

Beard and Beard, 304.

34. Should a referendum on franchises be adopted in cities to eliminate a fruitful source of municipal corruption? (1)

Guitteau, 48

35. Should direct legislation be used as a check upon national finance? Upon American diplomacy? (1)

Ashley, 155.

36. Should direct legislation be used for the adoption of national constitutional amendments? (1)

Ashley, 155.

37. Should Japanese be admitted to citizenship in the United States through naturalization? Chinese? Natives of India? (1)

Garner, 392.

38. Should a second election be held, the candidates being those two who received the largest vote in the first election, when there is no majority? (1)

Forman, 23.

39. Should the names of candidates in general elections be arranged on ballots alphabetically rather than in party columns? (1)

Magruder, 429.

40. Should the provision of conveyances, cigars, lunches, and entertainment to get voters to the polls be permitted? (1)

Harman, 191.

41. Should absentee voting be permitted? (1)

Harman, 192.

42. Should members of the national army and navy be allowed to vote? (1)

Harman, 180.

43. Should all offices under the federal government be limited to natural-born citizens of the United States and naturalized citizens who have lived continuously in the United States for a period of twenty-one years or longer? (1)

Boynton, 193.

44. Should candidates for public office be compelled to give an account of their election expenses? (1)

Forman, 363.

45. Should open instead of closed primaries be favored? (1)

Magruder, 415.

46. Should voters who cannot read be permitted to vote on amendment to the Constitution? (1)

Davis-McClure, 78.

47. Should party leaders and others who work in the party's cause be compensated in some way? (1)

Ashley, 154.

48. Should it be the duty of every individual to be a candidate for office if he is requested to do so? (1)

Hughes, 398.

49. Should the cumulative vote be adopted to insure representation for the minority as well as the majority? (1)

Guitteau, 95.

50. Should "corrupt practices acts" to prevent bribing of voters be passed by all state legislatures? (1)

Ashley, 122.

51. Should all citizens be allowed to vote in a democratic country? (1)

Ashley, 134.

52. Should advertising and distribution of campaign literature by candidates in general elections be prohibited, the government supplying in lieu thereof a regular pamphlet giving full information about each candidate and his policy? (1)

Munro, 127.

53. Should presidential candidates make campaign tours and deliver campaign speeches? (1)

Garner, 297.

54. Should the present requirements for naturalization be increased? (1)

Guitteau, 444.

55. Should a law be enacted providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents be eligible to citizenship unless the parents are eligible (Orientals are not eligible to citizenship except by birth in the United States)? (1)

Magruder, 60.

56. Should there be any difference between the rights enjoyed by a native-born citizen and those enjoyed by a naturalized citizen? (1)

Hill, 159.

57. Should an American woman who marries a foreign man lose her citizenship? (1)

Hughes, 25.

58. Should jury service be required of all citizens without exception? (1)

Hughes, 447.

59. Should freedom of speech be limited in time of peace in any way? Freedom of the press? (1)

Ashley, 179.

60. Should restrictions upon the freedom of speech in wartime (as the Espionage Act of 1917) be approved? Upon freedom of the press? (1)

Magruder, 242.

61. Should the government ever interfere with the rights of citizens to free speech? (1)

Hughes, 355.

E. Issues of Public Finance

1. Should the protective tariff be abolished in the United States? (9)

Ashley, 409, 419; Beard and Beard, 183; Burch and Patterson, 148; Davis-McClure, 183; Dunn, 101; Forman, 316; Guitteau, 380; Harman, 436; Hughes, 230.

2. Should the single tax plan be adopted? (4)

Beard and Beard, 266; Burch and Patterson, 342; Forman, 270; Hughes, 436.

3. Should the general property tax be abolished? (4)

Ashley, 195; Burch and Patterson, 326; Davis-McClure, 182; Guitteau, 199.

4. Should a corporation tax be levied by each state? (3)

Ashley, 196; Beard and Beard, 240; Guitteau, 200.

5. Should the tariff as a form of tax for revenue only be favored? (3)

Boynton, 114; Davis-McClure, 183; Guitteau, 347.

6. Should a tax be levied on inherited property? (3)

Beard and Beard, 240; Burch and Patterson, 327; Guitteau, 200.

7. Should an income tax be levied by each state? (2)

Beard and Beard, 239; Davis-McClure, 185.

8. Should heavy inheritance and income taxes be resorted to by the government to equalize wealth? (2)

Beard and Beard, 56; Hughes, 242.

9. Should taxes be levied on the ability-to-pay theory? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 320; Munro, 375.

10. Should incomes below a certain amount be exempt from the income tax? (1)

Forman, 271.

11. Should a graduated or progressive tax plan be adopted to equalize the sacrifice of taxpayers? (1)

Forman, 269.

12. Should the amount of federal income tax paid by corporations and individuals be open for inspection? (1)

Magruder, 96.

13. Should the poll or capitation tax be abolished? (1)

Guitteau, 201.

14. Should the personal property tax be abolished? (1)

Ashley, 195.

15. Should the personal property tax on automobiles be abolished? (1)

Magruder, 442.

16. Should mortgage taxes (taxes levied on capital invested in mortgages) be approved? (1)

Guitteau, 199.

17. Should a corporation tax be levied only upon those industries which are monopolistic in character? (1)

Guitteau, 200.

18. Should an amendment to the Constitution providing that the income of all bonds issued by the national, state, or local government shall be subject to taxation be approved? (1)

Munro, 216.

19. Should church property be taxed? (1)

Hughes, 294.

20. Should deposits in savings banks be exempt from taxation? (1)

Boynton, 287.

21. Should the restriction on the amount of money which may be deposited in postal savings banks be abolished? (1)

Hill, 379.

22. Should private banking corporations be permitted to issue notes under government supervision? (1)

Beard and Beard, 212.

23. Should the President have the power to increase or decrease duties in order to equalize the differences in the cost of producing articles in the United States and the principal competing country? (1)

Magruder, 219.

24. Should the President have the power to increase the customs duties on, or entirely exclude commodities coming from a foreign country which discriminates against the commerce of the United States? (1)

Magruder, 219.

25. Should the expenditures on account of the army and navy be reduced? (1)

Garner, 273.

26. Should the national budget system be approved? (1)

Harman, 449.

27. Should the national revenue be used in whatever ways will

best promote the entire national interest, irrespective of what particular regions may derive the most benefit? (1)

Munro, 419.

28. Should the Fisher plan for stabilizing the dollar be adopted? (1)

Munro, 360.

29. Should the independent treasury system of the United States be approved? (1)

Guitteau, 370.

30. Should a government borrow money from its own people? (1)

Hughes, 432.

31. Should a public debt be contracted which must be paid by the next generation? (1)

Forman, 297.

32. Should taxation be used as a means of equalizing wealth? (1)

Ashley, 199.

33. Should any tax or tax system be developed for the purpose of better distributing the burden of financing government? (1)

Ashley, 199.

34. Should the expenses of a Fourth of July celebration be paid out of the public funds? (1)

Forman, 271.

F. Issues of Courts and the Judiciary

1. Should judges of federal courts be chosen by popular vote? Of state courts? Of city courts? (6)

Beard and Beard, 91; Dunn, 239, 249; Forman, 172; Garner, 113, 368; Guitteau, 128; Munro, 250.

2. Should a unanimous decision be necessary for a verdict in a jury trial? (6)

Beard and Beard, 49; Forman, 176; Garner, 124; Hughes, 300; Magruder, 316; Munro, 257.

3. Should judges in the higher courts have life tenure on good behavior? (5)

Davis-McClure, 149; Dunn, 250; Garner, 124; Guitteau, 128, 338; Hughes, 318.

4. Should trial by jury be abolished? (3)

Ashley, 169, 181; Garner, 124; Guitteau, 128.

5. Should the recall of judicial decisions be favored? (3)

Beard and Beard, 92, 164; Burch and Patterson, 102, 107; Dunn, 250.

6. Should judges be subject to recall by the voters? (3)

Ashley 129; Forman, 170; Hill, 453.

7. Should regular public defenders be maintained at public expense for the defense of accused persons? (3)

Forman, 188; Garner, 121; Hughes, 300.

8. Should a majority vote of the justices of the United States Supreme Court be final on constitutional questions? (3)

Ashley, 334; Haskin, 286; Munro, 260.

9. Should courts of small claims be established to handle speedily and without the services of a lawyer cases involving minor sums of money? (2)

Forman, 245; Magruder, 311.

10. Should federal and state courts have the right to set aside laws passed by the legislature? (2)

Ashley, 334; Beard and Beard, 91.

11. Should the power of the United States Supreme Court be curbed? (1)

Munro, 217.

12. Should the United States Supreme Court ever reverse its own decisions? (1)

Garner, 368.

13. Should courts give their opinions on bills when they are proposed (and before they are passed)? (1)

Hughes, 378.

14. Should candidates for the judiciary be chosen on a party ticket? (1)

Guitteau, 454.

15. Should judges engage in politics? (1)

Garner, 124.

16. Should a law be passed in each state giving legal approval to arbitrated cases? (1)

Magruder, 320.

17. Should a judge whose decision in a certain case is disliked by a stated percentage of voters be compelled to stand for a new election even in the middle of his term in order to find out whether the voters approve of his conduct in applying the law? (1)

Beard and Beard, 91.

18. Should trial by jury be abolished for civil cases and the less important criminal cases? (1)

Magruder, 320.

19. Should the right of a trial by jury be restricted to important controversies and denied to all minor cases both civil and criminal? (1)

Munro, 257.

20. Should the suggestion that a bench of three judges be substituted for the jury in court trials be adopted? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 485.

21. Should the whole work of selecting juries be turned over to an appointive commission supervised by the courts to prevent tampering with jury lists? (1)

Munro, 257.

22. Should a court of domestic relations be established in each community of considerable size? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 539.

23. Should special courts be established in all states to deal with juvenile offenders? (1)

Ashley, 176.

24. Should the old legal rule that a person accused of crime cannot be compelled to testify against himself be changed—at least to permit his being made to testify as to his whereabouts when the crime was committed? (1)

Magruder, 332.

25. Should a person be punished for breaking a law of which he is ignorant? (1)

Hughes, 324.

26. Should the innocence of accused persons be legally assumed until guilt has been proved? (1)

Ashley, 167.

27. Should the policy under American law that it is better for nine guilty persons to escape punishment than for one innocent person to be punished be approved? (1)

Hughes, 301.

28. Should people in different social classes be treated differently when they do wrong? (1)

Hughes, 323.

G. Issues of Territorial and Foreign Relations

1. Should independence be granted to the Philippine Islands? (8)

Ashley, 452; Burch and Patterson, 108; Dunn, 266; Harman, 476; Hill, 503; Hughes, 355; Magruder, 257; Munro, 495.

2. Should the United States join the World Court? With reservations? (3)

Ashley, 497; Magruder, 148; Munro, 516.

3. Should the Monroe Doctrine be abandoned? (2)

Ashley, 497; Hughes, 355.

4. Should the war debts of the Allies to the United States be cancelled? (2)

Ashley, 495; Munro, 485.

5. Should the United States join the League of Nations? With reservations? (2)

Hughes, 354; Magruder, 180.

6. Should the United States adhere to its policy of isolation as regards foreign affairs? (1)

Munro, 479.

7. Should Alaska be granted statehood now? (1)

Magruder, 256.

8. Should the Philippine Islands be allowed to pass into the stage of territorial government with the promise of future statehood? (1)

Dunn, 266.

9. Should Porto Rico, the Philippines, and the Ladrones be administered according to the plan of territorial government laid down in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787? (1)

Hill, 457.

10. Should a bill be passed in Congress permitting the Porto Ricans to elect their own governor by popular vote? (1)

Magruder, 256.

11. Should the federal government employ troops to protect American investors and promoters who go into other countries to engage in business? (1)

Beard and Beard, 306.

12. Should there be established a United States academy for the training of diplomats? (1)

Magruder, 148.

13. Should problems of international relations and rivalry be solved through some form of international government? (1)

Ashley, 483.

14. Should loyalty to a nation be above that which may be due to a great world state in a new internationalism? (1)

Ashley, 58.

H. Issues of Immigration

1. Should foreign immigration into the United States be further restricted? (6)

Ashley, 380; Burch and Patterson, 175, 177; Dunn, 41; Garner, 247; Hill, 171; Munro, 28.

2. Should a literacy test be required of all immigrants? (4)

Ashley, 371; Burch and Patterson, 176; Guitteau, 388; Hill, 159.

3. Should Chinese and Japanese immigrants be excluded from the United States? (2)

Dunn, 46; Harman, 417.

4. Should foreign unskilled laborers be allowed to enter the United States during the next ten years? (1)

Hill, 171.

5. Should a greater head tax or possession by the immigrant upon his arrival of a certain specified sum of money be required for admission? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 175.

6. Should all immigration to the United States be prohibited? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 178.

I. Issues of Criminology

1. Should capital punishment be abolished? (8)

Ashley, 174; Beard and Beard, 51, 306; Boynton, 349; Burch and Patterson, 495; Dunn, 180; Guitteau, 145; Harman, 75; Hill, 324.

2. Should prison-made goods be placed on the market and sold in competition with the products of free labor? (4)

Burch and Patterson, 493; Harman, 77; Hill, 324; Hughes, 305.

3. Should the indeterminate sentence be adopted in sentencing criminals? (4)

Ashley, 174; Beard and Beard, 52; Burch and Patterson, 493; Guitteau, 146.

4. Should prisoners be taken outside of prison to be employed at building roads? (2)

Harman, 82; Hughes, 305.

5. Should the congregate rather than the separate system of confinement in prisons be favored? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 491; Guitteau, 146.

6. Should criminals be paroled? (1)

Hill, 324.

7. Should a system of parole be adopted to supervise discharged prisoners? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 494.

8. Should prison labor be approved? (1)

Guitteau, 150.

9. Should convicts be employed in making furniture, binding twine, and other useful articles? (1)

Harman, 82.

10. Should prisoners receive wages for the work they do in prison in order that they may help in supporting their families? (1)

Beard and Beard, 52, 225.

11. Should the labor of convicts be sold to contractors? (1)

Harman, 77.

12. Should the state try to find useful employment for its released prisoners? (1)

Beard and Beard, 225.

13. Should the lockstep be abolished from prisons? (1)

Hughes, 304.

14. Should reformatories and special juvenile courts be provided to care for young men and women who have committed crime? (1)

Harman, 77.

15. Should parents be held responsible for crimes committed by young people of high school age? (1)

Magruder, 495.

16. Should separate institutions be provided for the confinement of adult first offenders? (1)

Ashley, 175.

17. Should a person be looked upon as a "tell tale" if he informs public officers of the violation of a law? (1)

Hughes, 322.

18. Should the government spend large sums of money (say as much as \$100,000) to bring a murderer to justice? (1)

Magruder, 332.

19. Should a poor man fined for a petty offense be released and allowed to pay the fine by installments? (1)

Magruder, 240.

20. Should probation systems, which permit judges to place persons convicted of light offenses under the care of probation officers connected with the court, be established in each city? (1)

Beard and Beard, 250.

21. Should kidnaping be made punishable by death? (1)

Hill, 324.

22. Should the killing of a President of the United States be considered treason? (1)

Hughes, 440.

23. Should the government put in prison every person in good health who is not regularly employed in any beneficial occupation? (1)

Hughes, 270.

24. Should the state in dealing with a criminal entertain no idea of punishment, but simply treat him as a sick person? (1)

Forman, 412.

25. Should prisons generally be less lenient in their treatment of prisoners? (1)

Magruder, 495.

26. Should monetary rewards be given to policemen who have performed praiseworthy acts? (1)

Hill, 207.

J. Issues of Labor and Capital

1. Should arbitration of industrial disputes be made compulsory? (6)

Ashley, 392; Burch and Patterson, 376; Forman, 378; Guitteau, 139; Hill, 428; Hughes, 248.

2. Should the principles of socialism, whereby all factories and instruments of production on a large scale become public property, be put into practice in American government? (5)

Beard and Beard, 58, 191; Burch and Patterson, 345; Guitteau, 10; Hill, 424; Hughes, 234.

3. Should a child labor amendment to the national Constitution be favored? (4)

Ashley, 385; Harman, 124; Magruder, 60; Munro, 215.

4. Should the strike as a method of industrial warfare be sanctioned by law? The boycott? Picketing? The lockout? The blacklist? (4)

Ashley, 391; Burch and Patterson, 373; Guitteau, 139; Hill, 428.

5. Should minimum wage laws for women be enacted? (4)

Ashley, 396; Burch and Patterson, 396; Harman, 297; Munro, 215.

6. Should the injunction be used in labor disputes? (3)

Burch and Patterson, 374; Harman, 128; Hill, 421.

7. Should public employment bureaus be established by the government? (3)

Ashley, 390; Beard and Beard, 231; Harman, 261.

8. Should facilities for industrial conciliation and arbitration be provided in each state? (3)

Ashley, 392; Burch and Patterson, 375; Hill, 423.

9. Should the "closed" or union shop in industry be approved? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 368; Munro, 343.

10. Should minimum wage laws be enacted by each state? (2)

Beard and Beard, 231; Burch and Patterson, 427.

11. Should the government war on trusts with the ultimate object of breaking them up? (2)

Beard and Beard, 190; Guitteau, 166.

12. Should employees be given a voice in the operation of the business in which they are employed? (2)

Ashley, 401; Hughes, 247.

13. Should a system of health (sickness) insurance be adopted in the United States? Compulsory? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 411, 415; Forman, 390.

14. Should employees be given an equal share with investors in the management of the industries in which they are employed? (1)

Hill, 429.

15. Should the public ever interfere in a strike? (1)

Hill, 428.

16. Should sympathetic strikes be approved? (1)

Hughes, 246.

17. Should compulsory investigation of industrial difficulties by the state be adopted? (1)

Hill, 428.

18. Should trusts be rigidly regulated by the government through a board appointed for this specific purpose? (1)

Beard and Beard, 190.

19. Should business be protected and promoted by the government as far as is demanded by the best interests of the whole people? (1)

Ashley, 405.

20. Should the savings that come from large scale production be shared with the consumers and also with the governments under which the protection and development are enjoyed by the industry? (1)

Ashley, 412.

21. Should monopolies under private control be permitted? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 270.

22. Should there be anti-trust laws in each state? (1)

Ashley, 413.

23. Should corporations be abolished? (1)

Hill, 354.

24. Should the Federal Trade Commission be given additional powers in regulating monopolies? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 269.

25. Should all states adopt legislation limiting the hours of labor of women workers? (1)

Ashley, 388.

26. Should the hours of labor in industry be regulated by the government? (1)

Forman, 299.

27. Should the powers of the Railway Labor Board be made mandatory so that both railroads and employees would be compelled by law to accept its decisions? (1)

Munro, 304.

28. Should the right to employ "walking delegates" be interpreted as a part of collective bargaining in industry? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 367.

29. Should strikers be permitted to hold meetings and make speeches near factories, and bring everything short of physical force to bear to win a strike? (1)

Beard and Beard, 232.

30. Should strikers be permitted to boycott goods made by non-union manufacturers? (1)

Beard and Beard, 232.

31. Should strikers be permitted to picket factories where strikes are being held? (1)

Beard and Beard, 232.

32. Should laws be enacted in every state adopting the plan of workmen's compensation in industrial accidents? (1)

Ashley, 389.

33. Should the theory of employer's liability be applied in industrial accidents? (1)

Ashley, 389.

34. Should workmen injured in certain designated industries be compensated even though they have been careless? (1)

Magruder, 17.

35. Should a system of unemployment insurance be established in the United States? (1)

Munro, 331.

36. Should the government provide employment on public works to take care of the unemployed? (1)

Harman, 129.

37. Should wages be based on piecework rather than on hours of labor, wherever possible? (1)

Hill, 354.

38. Should division of labor be abandoned in American manufacturing? (1)

Ashley, 79.

39. Should the tendency toward increased industrial specialization (division of labor) be approved? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 241.

40. Should positive standards in manufactures be established by the government to protect the consumer against all kinds of misrepresentation? (1)

Beard and Beard, 182.

41. Should women work in the industries? (1)

Burch and Patterson, 399.

42. Should the Plumb plan for the operation of railroads be adopted? (1)

Munro, 324.

K. Issues of Education

1. Should a federal department of education be created with a Cabinet officer at its head? (8)

Ashley, 349; Boynton, 213; Davis-McClure, 192; Garner, 352; Harman, 367, 423, 430; Hill, 500; Hughes, 100; Munro, 417.

2. Should pupils in the public schools be furnished with textbooks free of cost? (3)

Guitteau, 181; Hill, 84; Magruder, 466.

3. Should the publication of foreign language newspapers be permitted in the United States? (2)

Davis-McClure, 198; Hughes, 122.

4. Should any language other than English be used as the medium of instruction in the schools, public or private? (2)

Boynton, 193; Hughes, 100.

5. Should the federal government help to support public education in the various states? (2)

Ashley, 354; Davis-McClure, 199.

6. Should an elementary education be given at public expense in this country? (1)

Boynton, 30.

7. Should every boy and girl have the opportunity of obtaining a four-year high school education at public expense? (1)

Davis-McClure, 177.

8. Should laws be passed in all states requiring all persons to obtain a high school education or its equivalent? (1)

Hughes, 128.

9. Should doctors be educated at public expense? Lawyers? (1)

Beard and Beard, 306.

10. Should school attendance be made compulsory for all young people under eighteen years of age? (1)

Hill, 84.

11. Should the expense of educating the immigrant be paid by the federal government? (1)

Hill, 171.

12. Should foreigners be Americanized? (1)

Hill, 170.

13. Should the local community bear a part of the expense of educating immigrants? (1)

Hill, 171.

14. Should an attempt be made to improve rural schools through consolidation and transportation? (1)

Davis-McClure, 26.

15. Should country schools have shorter terms than city schools? (1)

Hughes, 103.

16. Should schools be kept open all the year round instead of being closed for two or three months of the year? (1)

Hughes, 106.

17. Should the public schools have a twelve-month school year divided into four quarters, each pupil being required to attend three of the four? (1)

Hughes, 106.

18. Should the community determine what shall be taught in its schools? (1)

Hill, 73.

19. Should a system of religious teaching be introduced into the public schools? (1)

Hughes, 324.

20. Should the reading of the Bible in public schools be approved? (1)

Hughes, 296.

21. Should there be military drill in high schools? In colleges? (1)

Harman, 463.

22. Should dancing be taught in the public schools? (1)

Hughes, 151.

23. Should every boy and girl in high school be required to take at least one year of manual work? (1)

Hughes, 129.

24. Should pupils be compelled to take subjects which they do not like? (1)

Hughes, 109.

25. Should all pupils take the same course in the elementary school? In the high school? (1)

Hill, 73.

26. Should the primary purpose of education be to prepare pupils for community life, or in other words, to promote social efficiency? (1)

Hill, 69.

27. Should the chief purpose of education be to prepare boys and girls to support themselves? (1)

Hill, 68.

28. Should the public schools turn out citizens with a general rather than a technical education? (1)

Magruder, 410.

29. Should education have a present as well as a future value? (1)

Hill, 73.

30. Should pupils be permitted a share in the government of a school? (1)

Hughes, 109.

31. Should the teaching of foreign languages in the public elementary schools be abolished? In the public high schools? (1)

Hill, 170.

32. Should all pupils in the public and private elementary schools in the United States be taught only by teachers who are loyal citizens of the United States? (1)

Boynton, 193.

33. Should uniform textbooks be used throughout each state? (1)

Guitteau, 181.

34. Should pupils in junior and senior high schools be required to furnish their own textbooks? (1)

Hughes, 128.

35. Should athletic contests between schools be abolished? (1)

Hughes, 151.

36. Should the public school furnish balls, bats, and other play equipment for its pupils? (1)

Hill, 262.

37. Should a national university be established at Washington by the federal government? (1)

Davis-McClure, 192.

38. Should a law be enacted (as in Wisconsin) requiring every child who, between fourteen and sixteen, enters upon some useful employment under special permit, to attend an industrial, commercial, or evening school for five hours each week? (1)

Magruder, 467.

39. Should members of boards of education be chosen on a party ticket? (1)

Guitteau, 454.

40. Should school trustees be paid for their services? (1)

Davis-McClure, 50.

41. Should the municipality provide a free lunch for the children in its public schools? (1)

Forman, 229.

42. Should each pupil in the public elementary schools be provided at public expense with one pint of milk every school day? (1)

Hill, 197.

43. Should school buildings be made handsome just for the sake of the looks? (1)

Hughes, 106.

44. Should the winners in a school athletic tournament or contest be rewarded with a trophy? (1)

Hill, 269.

L. Issues of Social Welfare

1. Should uniform laws regulating marriage and divorce be enacted by the federal government? (5)

Ashley, 87; Burch and Patterson, 530; Garner, 247; Magruder, 60; Munro, 217.

2. Should promiscuous almsgiving to beggars be discouraged? (4)

Guitteau, 157; Hill, 307; Hughes, 288; Magruder, 479.

3. Should laws prohibiting the marriage of certain degenerate classes be enacted? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 525; Magruder, 479.

4. Should the national prohibition act be repealed? (2)

Harman, 329; Haskin, 437.

5. Should public outdoor relief of the needy be undertaken by the government? (2)

Burch and Patterson, 449; Guitteau, 153.

6. Should commercial billboards be abolished by law? (2)

Hill, 295; Hughes, 181.

7. Should society regulate marriage? (1)

Hill, 50.

8. Should polygamy be prohibited in the United States and its dependencies? (1)

Magruder, 60.

9. Should laws making for easy divorce be favored? (1)

Beard and Beard, 222.

10. Should mothers' pension acts be enacted? (1)

Beard and Beard, 230.

11. Should the government grant pensions to all poor people beyond a certain age, as is done in some European countries? (1)

Hughes, 277.

12. Should tag days (to raise funds for charitable institutions) be abolished? (1)

Hughes, 287.

13. Should charity be governmental rather than private? (1)

Ashley, 366.

14. Should each state establish a state insurance system? (1)

Hughes, 278.

15. Should a system of old age pensions be established by the government? (1)

Forman, 402.

16. Should there be liberal pensions for soldiers? (1)

Harman, 464.

17. Should each city establish a public welfare department to deal with social problems arising from poverty, unemployment, crime, recreations, and education? (1)

Harman, 260.

18. Should the practice of tipping be approved? (1)

Hughes, 245.

19. Should the use of foreign customs, as foreign dances, costumes, and foods, be allowed? (1)

Hill, 170.

20. Should persons who cause destructive fires by carelessness be punished by fine and imprisonment? (1)

Hill, 242

21. Should a provision be made that the state government lend three-fourths of the cost of building a home at two per cent interest to any of its citizens who can furnish the remaining one-fourth? (1)

Hill, 295.

22. Should a requirement be made that at some time between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five every citizen should contribute at least six months to some form of public service? (1)

Hughes, 447.

23. Should the authorities interfere if a Spanish bullfight were to be exhibited in this country? (1)

Magruder, 495.

24. Should railroad rates and accommodations in the United States be of several classes? (1)

Davis-McClure, 234.

25. Should all laws be dispensed with? (1)

Davis-McClure, 7.

26. Should ordinances prohibiting unnecessary noises be passed and strictly enforced? (1)

Hughes, 176.

27. Should communities pass regulations requiring manufacturers to employ effective means for diminishing smoke? (1)

Hughes, 177.

28. Should public dumps be prohibited in all communities? (1)

Hughes, 181.

29. Should each community have control of all advertising within its limits? (1)

Hughes, 180.

30. Should billboards on a person's vacant lot be prohibited if they mar the beauty of the town or landscape? (1)

Magruder, 28.

31. Should the drama be subsidized? The opera? (1)

Hill, 268.

32. Should amusement facilities be under public ownership? (1)

Hill, 266, 268.

33. Should each community establish a theatre and a concert hall in which entertainments are given at cost? (1)

Hill, 270.

A COMPOSITE RANK ORDER LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
TWENTY-FIVE TEXT ISSUES

1. Should there be public ownership and operation of municipal utilities (water, gas, electricity, telephone, and transportation)? (13)
2. Should the telegraph, telephone, and railroad systems be owned and operated by the federal government? (12)
3. Should the nomination of candidates for public office be by the system of direct primaries? (12)
4. Should the short ballot plan be adopted for all general elections? (11)
5. Should the initiative and the referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation in each state? (11)
6. Should the commission form of government be favored for American cities? (10)
7. Should there be an educational qualification for voting? (10)
8. Should members of the President's Cabinet be given seats in Congress? The right to vote also? (9)
9. Should elective officials be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired? (9)
10. Should the protective tariff be abolished in the United States? (9)
11. Should the President be elected for a longer term and made ineligible for reelection? (8)
12. Should the policy of home rule for cities be approved? (8)
13. Should independence be granted to the Philippine Islands? (8)
14. Should capital punishment be abolished? (8)
15. Should a federal department of education be created with a Cabinet officer at its head? (8)
16. Should a newly elected Congress be required to assemble shortly after the election instead of about thirteen months thereafter, as is the present rule? (7)
17. Should the city manager form of government be adopted in American cities? (7)
18. Should the electoral college be abolished and provision be made for the direct popular election of the President? (7)
19. Should presidential candidates be nominated through presidential preference primaries? (7)

20. Should aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens be permitted to vote? (7)
21. Should the system of proportional representation be adopted? (6)
22. Should judges of federal courts be chosen by popular vote? Of state courts? Of city courts? (6)
23. Should a unanimous decision be necessary for a verdict in a jury trial? (6)
24. Should foreign immigration into the United States be further restricted? (6)
25. Should arbitration of industrial disputes be made compulsory? (6)

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: ISSUES FROM THE TREATISES RANK ORDER LIST OF THE TREATISE ISSUES BY SUBJECT

A. Issues of Government—National

1. Should there be government ownership and operation of the railways? The telegraph? The telephone? 5.01466

Beard, 146, 388; Catlin, 628; Lutz, 177, 184; Plehn, 338; Young, 252.¹

2. Should the President have the power to veto individual items in an appropriation bill? 4.00636

Bryce, 159; Munro, 156; Ray, 542, 572; Young, 490.

3. Should a provision be made that a law of Congress declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court may become valid in spite of the Court's decision if reenacted by Congress by a two-thirds vote? 4.00382

Beard, 302; Bruce, 52; Munro, 412; Young, 324, 490, 625.

4. Should representatives in Congress be required to be residents of the districts that they represent? 3.01341

Beard, 29, 233; Bryce, 143, 332, 446; Munro, 223.

5. Should a national policy of conservation of natural resources be favored? 3.01003

Lutz, 142; Plehn, 336; Young, 302.

6. Should Cabinet members have seats in the houses of Congress? 3.00767

Beard, 218; Bryce, 65, 206; Munro, 182.

¹ These names refer to the books by the respective authors as listed in Table III. The numbers specify the page in each book on which the issue was found. The figures above immediately following the issue indicate its value for the purpose of ranking: the number to the left of the decimal point designates the number of different treatises in which the issue appeared; the numbers to the right represent the total proportionate space devoted to the issue in these treatises.

7. Should the committee system by which Congress does its work be approved? 3.00703

Beard, 271; Bryce, 128; Young, 94.

8. Should the tenure of office of members of the House of Representatives be lengthened? 3.00599

Beard, 227; Bryce, 146; Munro, 226.

9. Should the tendency toward centralization, as exemplified in the drift from state to national control in the United States, be approved? 3.00565

Beard, 450; Bryce, 464; Young, 687.

10. Should the coal mining industry in the United States be nationalized? 3.00237

Catlin, 628; Lutz, 163; Watkins, 385.

11. Should the presidential term be lengthened, with the definite provision against reëligibility for a second term? 3.00151

Beard, 143; Bryce, 53; Young, 28.

12. Should the army in the United States be subordinated to the representative government? 3.00135

Beard, 143; Munro, 176; Young, 270.

13. Should the spoils system method of appointment to public office be approved? 2.02204

Brooks, 511; Ray, 380.

14. Should the method of amending the federal Constitution be changed? 2.00506

Beard, 83; Munro, 85.

15. Should the method of caucus rule for controlling debates in Congress be approved? 2.00361

Munro, 196; Young, 87.

16. Should the power to charter corporations be vested in the federal government? 2.00324

Beard, 392; Young, 207, 208, 490.

17. Should unrestricted freedom of debate in the Senate be approved? 2.00314

Munro, 195; Young, 122.

18. Should a new Congress meet by law within six months of its election? 2.00306

Beard, 186, 235; Bryce, 96.

19. Should the Senate have the power to approve or reject appointments made by the President? 2.00256

Beard, 199; Young, 30.

20. Should the manufacture of arms be monopolized by the government and private manufacture be prohibited? 2.00242

Buell, 542; Lutz, 163.

21. Should the merchant marine be subsidized by the government? 2.00214

Beard, 6; Buell, 112.

22. Should the custom in the Senate known as "senatorial courtesy" with reference to presidential appointments be approved? 2.00162

Munro, 140; Young, 30.

23. Should secret or executive sessions in the Senate for the discussion of nominations be opposed? For the discussion of treaties? 2.00155

Bryce, 77, 81; Young, 116.

24. Should the treaty-making power of the United States Senate be limited? 1.00710

Buell, 685, 707.

25. Should Cabinet members and the President be given full freedom of debate in either house, the administration being intrusted with the definite preparation of a program of action for each session? 1.00467

Young, 38,

26. Should the President have the power of veto over Congressional legislation? 1.00450

Munro, 151.

27. Should the Constitution be amended to prescribe the exact number of judges to sit on the United States Supreme Court? 1.00283

Bryce, 199.

28. Should the legislative branch of the government be composed of two houses? 1.00280

Beard, 24, 593, 710.

29. Should an increasingly larger number of the higher grade positions in the government service now within the spoils system be placed on the merit basis? 1.00254

Beard, 314.

30. Should fiscal monopolies by the government, of certain industries, (as tobacco, salt, matches, gunpowder, life insurance, etc.) be favored? 1.00224

Lutz, 187.

31. Should a change be favored providing that treaties be approved by a simple majority of both Houses? 1.00198

Young, 47.

32. Should administration be by boards rather than in the hands of one man? 1.00197

Beard, 45.

33. Should taxes on land devoted to the growing of young trees be reduced or abolished to encourage the growth of new forests? 1.00168

Beard, 421.

34. Should Congress have the right to regulate the conditions of industry by means of the taxing power? 1.00160

Munro, 309.

35. Should the Constitution be interpreted as giving Congress the power to pass legal tender acts? 1.00146

Bryce, 194.

36. Should an author or inventor in one country be aided and encouraged through the protection of his writings and discoveries by other countries? 1.00137

Young, 671.

37. Should a representative act in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment and in obedience to his own conception of the general welfare, regardless of whether this may reflect the opinion of his own particular district? 1.00137

Munro, 224.

38. Should the seniority rule in making up the membership of committees in Congress be approved? 1.00137

Munro, 238.

39. Should freedom of speech be curtailed in time of war? 1.00130

Munro, 334.

40. Should the President be required to appoint only the secretaries in his Cabinet and the men for a few other important posts, all other officers to be put under permanent tenure and not to change with each administration? 1.00129

Young, 32.

41. Should the militia units of the several states be nationalized that they may be brought into harmonious and practical relation with the national army? 1.00129

Young, 267.

42. Should the office of President in the government of the United States be dispensed with? 1.00127

Bryce, 215.

43. Should there be government ownership and operation of a merchant marine? 1.00124

Beard, 396.

44. Should the independent action of the President in foreign affairs be restricted? 1.00116

Buell, 706.

45. Should each government department receive all of the money allowed it by budget in a lump sum without any restrictions as to its use? 1.00111

Beard, 52.

46. Should the federal subsidy system of aid to the states be favored? 1.00108

Young, 690, 692.

47. Should the doctrine of government by a system of checks and balances be approved? 1.00103

Munro, 62.

48. Should there be adopted in both the House and the Senate a standing rule that no proposal of expenditure shall be in order unless recommended by the President, so that responsibility for the expenditure of money may be focussed? 1.00103

Munro, 287.

49. Should the legislature have the power to increase or add to the budget as proposed by the executive? 1.00102

Beard, 54.

50. Should a more reasonable and equitable distribution of government improvements than is now obtained through Congressional committees be insisted upon? 1.00083

Young, 91.

51. Should the size of the houses of Congress be reduced? 1.00080

Bryce, 148.

52. Should the third term tradition be held inviolable? 1.00079

Beard, 186.

53. Should the budget be discussed by the legislature in the

presence of the chief executive and the heads of departments?
1.00076

Beard, 54.

54. Should the "leave to print" privilege in Congress be curtailed? 1.00076

Young, 99.

55. Should the nation rather than the states control labor law? 1.00072

Young, 174.

56. Should military and naval officials be allowed to circulate their military sentiments by means of government machinery?
1.00069

Buell, 682.

57. Should the governmental body which arbitrates labor disputes have authority to enforce its decisions? 1.00068

Young, 174.

58. Should the various and conflicting railroad lines in the United States be consolidated into a few great systems subject to government control and regulation? 1.00067

Beard, 388.

59. Should there be a rule in Congress providing that a certain number of members may call up any bill from the recesses of any committee and force a vote on it? 1.00064

Beard, 267.

60. Should a reform looking toward a dispersion of the committee assignments and the party authority in Congress among all the members of the majority be favored? 1.00064

Beard, 267.

61. Should the President take office immediately after his election? 1.00060

Beard, 186.

62. Should the field of state economic activity be enlarged as

completely and as rapidly as possible by the policy of public ownership and operation of industry? 1.00055

Lutz, 165.

63. Should "log-rolling" in legislatures be made illegal? 1.00052

Bryce, 374.

64. Should the legal and prosecuting duties and the detection of crime in connection with the mails be transferred to the Department of Justice? 1.00047

Young, 250.

65. Should there be created a federal department of public works? Of public health? Of education? Of public welfare? Of highways? Of conservation? 1.00030

Munro, 179.

66. Should the federal authority which arbitrates wage rates be separated from the authority which fixes freight and passenger rates under the system of government regulation of railroads? 1.00029

Young, 174.

67. Should the government embark on rural credit enterprises to lend money at lower rates to farmers? 1.00013

Beard, 6.

68. Should the sale of public lands be restricted to bona fide homeseekers? 1.00010

Beard, 143.

69. Should there be government regulation of railway rates? Of telegraph rates? 1.00009

Beard, 6, 143.

70. Should there be government ownership of all industries in which competition has ceased to exist? 1.00006

Beard, 145.

71. Should the public domain be extended to include mineral resources, forests, and water power? 1.00006

Beard, 145.

B. Issues of Government—State

1. Should state offices be reorganized under a few department heads, these to be appointed by the governor? 4.00662

Beard, 465, 468, 469; Bryce, 380; Munro, 558; Young, 356, 362.

2. Should the executive budget plan be approved for the state? 4.00619

Beard, 54; Lutz, 623; Munro, 512; Young, 371.

3. Should the committee system of procedure in state legislatures be approved? 2.00805

Munro, 467; Ray, 521.

4. Should a legislative reference bureau be established in connection with the state legislature to provide information and assistance to legislators in preparing and drafting bills? 2.00528

Ray, 574; Young, 369.

5. Should the state legislature be reestablished as a single house? 2.00342

Munro, 458; Young, 371.

6. Should state charities and institutions be placed under the administration and management of a state board of control? 2.00334

Beard, 692; Young, 457.

7. Should the length of legislative sessions be limited by constitutional provision? 2.00199

Beard, 600; Bryce, 384.

8. Should state laws be made uniform? 1.00482

Young, 692.

9. Should the state commission plan for the regulation of public utilities be approved? 1.00450

Young, 396.

10. Should appointments of candidates for state offices be by the merit system? 1.00362

Munro, 485.

11. Should the organization of state government on the principle of checks and balances (by the triple division of governmental powers) be abandoned? 1.00278

Munro, 545.

12. Should state courts retain their power to declare state laws unconstitutional? 1.00236

Munro, 529.

13. Should the state permit the sale to its people of any and every kind of stock and security issue? 1.00209

Young, 388.

14. Should the Torrens system of land registration be established by the state? 1.00169

Young, 403.

15. Should a force of river wardens be established under the direction of the state board of health to police the water supply of the entire state? 1.00137

Young, 447.

16. Should the central authority for the control of education be centralized in the hands of one man rather than be placed in the hands of a state board of education? 1.00115

Young, 431.

17. Should a civil service divorced from politics be established in each state? 1.00108

Bryce, 345.

18. Should there be annual elections of representatives to the legislature? 1.00105

Beard, 599.

19. Should the legislature be permitted at pleasure to in-

crease or add to the items in the budget as proposed by the governor? 1.00092

Beard, 658, 659.

20. Should provision for the ultimate liquidation of state debts be by the sinking fund method? 1.00080

Munro, 516.

21. Should the plan set forth in the "Model State Constitution" by the National Municipal League for the reconstruction of state government be accepted? 1.00076

Munro, 558.

22. Should a public life insurance system be operated by the state? 1.00068

Young, 387.

23. Should all lobbyists be required by state law to register and to make known the names of the companies they represent, the record of these facts to be open to public inspection? 1.00068

Young, 371.

24. Should the pardoning power of the governor be limited? 1.00053

Munro, 490.

25. Should sessions of state legislatures be made less frequent; e.g., biennial? 1.00052

Bryce, 385.

26. Should a state borrow by the serial bond system? 1.00050

Munro, 517.

27. Should the governor have the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus under any circumstances? 1.00048

Beard, 568.

28. Should the term of office of the governor be lengthened? 1.00044

Beard, 562.

29. Should the number of members in the state legislature be materially reduced? 1.00036

Young, 371.

30. Should representatives be apportioned among the several divisions of the state on the basis of the total population, citizens and aliens, as ascertained by the federal census? 1.00035

Beard, 595.

31. Should something like the English cabinet system be adopted in state governments? 1.00029

Beard, 619.

32. Should the governor and members of his cabinet have votes and seats in the legislature? 1.00025

Young, 371.

33. Should there be any effort to improve the character of state legislatures by imposing special qualifications on the members? 1.00022

Beard, 600.

34. Should rental rates of private dwellings be fixed by the government to protect tenants? 1.00013

Beard, 6.

C. Issues of Government—Local

1. Should there be municipal ownership and operation of public utilities? 4.01331

Beard, 746; Bryce, 448; Munro, 630; Young, 657.

2. Should the city manager plan of government be approved for cities? 3.01585

Beard, 721; Munro, 609; Young, 649.

3. Should the principle of home rule for cities be approved? 3.00721

Beard, 703, 707; Bryce, 447; Young, 645.

4. Should the commission plan of government be adopted for cities? 2.02099

Beard, 718; Munro, 598.

5. Should uniform charters for cities within each state be favored? 2.00174

Bryce, 443; Munro, 580.

6. Should members of the city council be elected at large rather than by wards? 2.00140

Bryce, 433; Munro, 592.

7. Should the mayor and council plan of government be favored for cities? 1.01839

Munro, 585.

8. Should the home rule charter system of framing and granting city charters be approved? 1.00225

Munro, 581.

9. Should the general control and appointing power of the mayor be extended, he himself being subject to removal for cause by the governor of the state? 1.00193

Bryce, 432.

10. Should a county manager plan of government for the county be approved? 1.00115

Young, 662.

11. Should there be home rule for counties? 1.00111

Beard, 782.

12. Should the optional charter system of framing and granting city charters be adopted? 1.00107

Munro, 583.

13. Should the classified charter plan of framing and granting city charters be adopted? 1.00107

Munro, 580.

14. Should the mayor have the power of veto over legislation passed by the city council? 1.00103

Munro, 588.

15. Should the fusion in the hands of the county board of the powers of levying taxes, voting appropriations, and then spending the money thus appropriated be approved? 1.00088

Munro, 639.

16. Should the function of preparing the city's annual budget be deputed to the mayor? 1.00084

Munro, 589.

17. Should the special charter system of framing and granting city charters be favored? 1.00084

Munro, 579.

18. Should the borrowing power of the municipality be limited? 1.00080

Bryce, 432.

19. Should appointments made by the mayor to higher administrative positions require the concurrence of the city council before they become valid? 1.00076

Munro, 589.

20. Should the power of the state legislature to interfere by special legislation with municipal governments or the conduct of municipal affairs be restricted? 1.00066

Bryce, 432.

21. Should the legislative powers of municipalities be vested in two bodies—a board of aldermen and a board of finance? 1.00057

Bryce, 432.

22. Should efforts be made to control more adequately, in the public interest, the operation of public franchises that continue to remain in private hands? 1.00057

Bryce, 449.

23. Should nomination by petition be favored for municipal and judicial nominations in order to promote non-partisanship in municipal and judicial elections? 1.00054

Ray, 111.

24. Should the school board be elected on a general ticket rather than by wards? 1.00052

Bryce, 433.

25. Should the commission manager form of government be adopted for counties? 1.00051

Beard, 523.

26. Should a legal aid bureau be established by the city to help, in both civil and criminal cases, persons who are unable to retain counsel? 1.00043

Young, 379.

27. Should a civil service free from the influence of party politics be established in the city? 1.00038

Bryce, 433.

28. Should the term of service of the mayor be lengthened? Of the heads of departments? 1.00024

Bryce, 433.

29. Should there be uniform methods of accounting in all cities? 1.00019

Bryce, 443.

30. Should building in cities be regulated by zoning laws? 1.00006

Beard, 6.

D. Issues of Practical Politics

1. Should the initiative and the referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation? 6.06811

Beard, 505; Brooks, 458; Bryce, 325; Munro, 548; Ray, 585; Young, 620.

2. Should there be an educational qualification for voting? 6.01115

Beard, 17, 124, 499; Brooks, 378, 380; Cubberley, 342; Munro, 110; Ray, 303; Young, 342.

3. Should candidates for public office be nominated by direct primary elections? 5.03502

Beard, 546; Brooks, 253; Munro, 460; Ray, 113, 148; Young, 345.

4. Should the recall of elective officials be approved? Of appointive officials? 5.02652

Beard, 515; Brooks, 490; Munro, 556; Ray, 486; Young, 372, 623.

5. Should the principles advocated by the short ballot movement be approved? 4.02823

Beard, 522; Brooks, 425; Ray, 339; Young, 626.

6. Should the system of proportional representation of political parties in legislative bodies be adopted? 4.01883

Beard, 27; Brooks, 446; Ray, 579; Young, 371, 634.

7. Should there be a tax-paying qualification for voting? 4.00350

Beard, 18, 124, 499; Brooks, 378, 380; Munro, 111; Young, 342.

8. Should provision be made to enable absentee voters to vote? 3.01920

Beard, 540; Brooks, 413; Ray, 351.

9. Should women have the right to vote? 3.01449

Brooks, 370; Munro, 108; Ray, 310.

10. Should United States Senators be elected by direct vote of the people? 3.01247

Beard, 238; Munro, 189; Ray, 176.

11. Should negroes be excluded from the ballot in the southern states? 3.00683

Beard, 17, 499; Ellwood 264; Young, 342.

12. Should the open primary be used in direct primary nominations? 3.00608

Brooks, 247; Ray, 141; Young, 346.

13. Should candidates for municipal offices be nominated by non-partisan primaries? For judicial offices? 3.00537

Beard, 539; Brooks, 252; Ray, 147, 338.

14. Should the merit system be universally adopted for appointments to public office? 2.01572

Ray, 406; Young, 598.

15. Should presidential candidates be chosen by presidential preference primaries? 2.01187

Brooks, 277; Ray, 203, 216.

16. Should publicity pamphlets containing information concerning the men and the measures to be voted upon in elections be published and sent out at the expense of the state? 2.00842

Brooks, 348, 473; Ray, 262.

17. Should the plan of preferential voting be adopted for general elections? 2.00688

Brooks, 443; Ray, 347.

18. Should the personal registration of voters before election be required? In small communities? In cities? 2.00558

Brooks, 383; Ray, 302.

19. Should nomination for public office by petition be favored? 2.00490

Brooks, 266; Ray, 136, 158.

20. Should the President be elected by direct popular vote? 2.00449

Bryce, 214; Young, 25, 490, 558.

21. Should the uses to which election funds may be devoted be fixed by legal statute? 2.00342

Brooks, 333; Young, 350.

22. Should voting be made compulsory on the part of those who have the franchise? 2.00322

Brooks, 418; Young, 344.

23. Should the party column ballot be abolished to encourage independent voting? 2.00223

Beard, 538; Young, 348.

24. Should representation upon party committees of every rank be based upon territorial units? 2.00198

Brooks, 158; Young, 344.

25. Should campaign expenses be assumed by the state? 2.00148

Brooks, 348; Ray, 275.

26. Should the election of local, state, and federal officers on the same day be approved? 2.00133

Bryce, 427; Ray, 337.

27. Should the convention system of nomination for state and local offices be abolished? 1.00938

Ray, 126.

28. Should the multi-party system be adopted to take the place of the two-party system in the United States? 1.00892

Brooks, 106.

29. Should nominations by caucus or primary in local elections be abolished? 1.00741

Ray, 115.

30. Should presidential preference primaries be adopted for choosing delegates to the national convention? 1.00597

Ray, 197.

31. Should proposals to bar permanently certain classes of measures (those too trivial, local, technical, or radical) as subjects of direct legislation be favored? 1.00473

Brooks, 480.

32. Should representation of women voters in the party organization be brought about by opening all party offices to men and women on equal terms? 1.00383

Brooks, 161.

33. Should the "envelope" ballot be adopted for use in both primary and general elections? 1.00368

Ray, 327.

34. Should the general policy of making the largest possible number of offices elective and shortening the term of office holders so that they may be forced to submit their conduct frequently to the approval or the disapproval of the people be favored? 1.00356

Brooks, 426.

35. Should preference be given to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors in making appointments to the civil service? 1.00311

Brooks, 530.

36. Should representation of women voters in the party organization be brought about by the mandatory assignment of an equal number of places on party committees to women? 1.00275

Brooks, 162.

37. Should the power of the President of making special exceptions to the civil service rules by appointments to offices within the classified list without any competitive or other examination be approved? 1.00211

Ray, 416.

38. Should voting machines be used in general elections? 1.00189

Brooks, 406.

39. Should a "who's who" ballot giving briefly information concerning each candidate's education and experience be favored? 1.00184

Ray, 345.

40. Should a law be enacted providing for the choice of party officers; i.e., the members of the different party committees, at the time when other nominations are made at the direct primary and on the same ballot, with the added provision that the party committees so chosen should be allowed to present a party ticket for approval or rejection by the party voters at each primary election? 1.00180

Ray, 144.

41. Should the pre-primary recommending convention plan be favored? 1.00171

Brooks, 265.

42. Should the Prohibition party be continued now that its object of national prohibition has been attained? 1.00162

Brooks, 115.

43. Should an attempt be made to reduce bribery of legislators by the adoption of so-called "immunity statutes", which free from punishment the party to a bribery transaction who confesses and furnishes evidence for the conviction of the other party or parties? 1.00130

Ray, 572.

44. Should the political parties hold conventions which define or modify their policies from year to year and as important issues arise? 1.00122

Brooks, 306.

45. Should the proposal for the reform of the nominating convention be approved to the effect that after the delegates from the lowest political units have been elected in fair, well-guarded primaries, each town, city, or county delegation to the convention shall elect a chairman who shall hand in to the convention all the nominations desired by a plurality of his delegation; these nominations and these only to be posted on a large bulletin board and voted on by secret ballot under the supervision of officials named by public election commissioners? 1.00112

Ray, 134.

46. Should the introduction of minority representation by cumulative voting be favored for electing members to the legislature? 1.00111

Beard, 598.

47. Should the referendum in nominations be favored whereby a petition signed by a certain percentage of the enrolled voters of the party would require that a nomination by the party convention which is opposed by a large number be referred to the party voters? 1.00103

Ray, 135.

48. Should members of the legislature be chosen at large on a common ticket? 1.00086

Beard, 24, 710.

49. Should initiative petitions be left in some centrally located places where voters might easily have access to them to sign rather than be circulated for signatures? 1.00077

Brooks, 464.

50. Should the double primary be favored as a device to prevent minority nominations? 1.00077

Brooks, 255.

51. Should Congress provide an appropriation for the proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties, an appropriation ample enough to meet the necessity for thorough organization and machinery? 1.00072

Ray, 285.

52. Should the system of preferential voting be used in connection with the direct primary election? 1.00072

Ray, 158.

53. Should the practice of "gerrymandering" be permitted? 1.00072

Munro, 221.

54. Should laws to prevent candidates defeated in the primaries of their own parties from forming new parties or running as independents for the same office in the ensuing election be favored? 1.00072

Brooks, 256.

55. Should the two-thirds rule in national conventions be approved? 1.00054

Brooks, 293.

56. Should a member of a political party regularly vote the ticket of his party regardless of the quality of the candidates? 1.00049

Ray, 466.

57. Should the practice of mailing a sample ballot to each voter before the day of the primary or election be adopted by the state in order to enable voters to mark their long ballots more intelligently on election day? 1.00049

Ray, 345.

58. Should the proposal for the reform of the nominating convention to the effect that after securing properly guarded primaries all nominations in conventions should be by printed ballots, each ballot bearing the name of the delegate voting it and to be given official record, be approved? 1.00045

Ray, 135.

59. Should provision be made that proponents of a measure by the initiative be permitted to have it submitted to the people upon deposit of a sum sufficient to send to every voter in the state explanations and arguments on the subject, that sum to be returned to the contributors in the event of the adoption of the proposal at the polls? 1.00045

Brooks, 465.

60. Should there be higher qualifications for the suffrage in the United States? 1.00036

Brooks, 380.

61. Should the governor of the state be chosen by the system of preferential voting? 1.00029

Young, 371.

62. Should contested election cases affecting members of legislative bodies be tried and determined in the ordinary courts of justice? 1.00027

Ray, 571.

63. Should a uniform suffrage law for federal elections be favored? 1.00023

Brooks, 380.

64. Should the national conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates be regulated by federal law? 1.00018

Ray, 203.

65. Should universal suffrage be favored? 1.00003

Beard, 145.

E. Issues of Public Finance

1. Should the general property tax be abandoned? 5.05797

Beard, 661; Bryce, 357; Lutz, 320; Plehn, 174; Young, 466.

2. Should the tax exemption for all municipal, state, and federal bonds be repealed? 5.01081

Beard, 365; Lutz, 506; Munro, 272; Plehn, 362; Young, 490.

3. Should the United States have a protective tariff policy? 4.02210

Beard, 6, 363, 392; Lutz, 420; Munro, 311; Plehn 47, 147.

4. Should the ability-to-pay theory be employed as the basis of taxation? 3.01929

Beard, 363; Lutz, 275; Plehn, 65, 91.

5. Should the proposal of a single tax on land as a substitute for all other kinds of taxation be accepted? 3.00973

Beard, 764; Lutz, 378; Plehn, 84.

6. Should corporations as such be subjected to special forms and methods of taxation? 3.00403

Lutz, 385; Plehn, 188; Young, 467.

7. Should there be a sales tax levied on the gross amount for which any goods are sold? 3.00322

Lutz, 317; Munro, 276; Plehn, 327.

8. Should a nation at war rely exclusively on taxation to finance its military and naval operations? 2.01834

Lutz, 534; Plehn, 400.

9. Should the inheritance tax be approved as a form of taxation? The income tax? 2.00647

Beard, 10, 145, 662; Plehn, 203.

10. Should the use of the taxing power by the state for ulterior purposes, such as to check harmful luxuries or to alter the dis-

tribution of wealth to the general advantage, be approved?
2.00537

Lutz, 290; Plehn, 95.

11. Should the whole field of inheritance taxation be abandoned by the federal government and left to the individual states? 2.00337

Lutz, 484; Plehn, 212.

12. Should the poll tax be abolished? 2.00220

Lutz, 429; Plehn, 222.

13. Should a federal bonus be paid to all those who were in the armed forces of the United States during the World War?
2.00197

Beard, 361; Lutz, 58.

14. Should the excess profits tax be approved as a form of taxation? In time of peace? In time of war? 1.01445

Plehn, 301.

15. Should a general policy of central as opposed to local control of public expenditures be favored? 1.01282

Lutz, 111.

16. Should credits and money be considered property for purposes of taxation? 1.00859

Plehn, 182.

17. Should the successions tax, with the rates made lighter or heavier for the different classes of heirs or beneficiaries, be abandoned because of its complexity of administration and of law? 1.00803

Plehn, 205.

18. Should the policy of federal subsidies to the states be in general opposed as tending toward federal bureaucracy and excessive administrative centralization over local matters?
1.00671

Lutz, 123.

19. Should public credit be used to finance those projects and activities which are of general social advantage, but which do not afford any opportunity for a direct financial return (e.g., highways, education, etc.)? 1.00549

Lutz, 521.

20. Should the benefit theory be employed as the basis of taxation? 1.00542

Plehn, 89.

21. Should the policy of financing local improvements by means of excess condemnation be favored? 1.00510

Lutz, 232.

22. Should debt redemption by the outright imposition of a very heavy tax on property (i.e., by a capital levy) be favored? 1.00486

Lutz, 583.

23. Should tax rates be progressive rather than proportional? 1.00471

Lutz, 282.

24. Should the *ad valorem* method of railroad taxation be favored? 1.00408

Lutz, 391.

25. Should a diversified system of taxation be favored rather than a concentration upon a very few forms of taxes? 1.00384

Lutz, 266.

26. Should a public debt be redeemed? 1.00341

Lutz, 569.

27. Should income tax returns be made public? 1.00324

Plehn, 283.

28. Should income from personal effort be taxed as much as income from property? 1.00310

Lutz, 285.

29. Should a municipality include in the expenses of the public

utilities which it operates an amount roughly equivalent to the taxes which would be received from the property if it were in private hands, and apply such tax charge to the general needs of the city? 1.00278

Lutz, 208.

30. Should the inheritance tax be imposed for the purpose of reducing large accumulations of wealth and thus of promoting greater equality in its distribution? 1.00200

Lutz, 487.

31. Should a minimum registration fee with universal obligation to file a return be adopted in connection with the income tax? 1.00173

Lutz, 460.

32. Should the use of public credit for financing all extraordinary expenditure on the part of the state be approved? 1.00169

Lutz, 515.

33. Should the *ad valorem* plan be used in taxing local public utilities, such as water, gas, electric light, and power companies? 1.00153

Lutz, 394.

34. Should federal taxation be resorted to as a more equitable means of securing funds for local and state improvements? 1.00146

Beard, 449.

35. Should all forms of tangible personal property be subject to taxation? 1.00129

Lutz, 359.

36. Should those who have not the right to vote be required to pay taxes? 1.00122

Lutz, 242.

37. Should the federal government levy and collect all inheritance taxes and distribute the revenue among the states on some rule of apportionment? 1.00118

Plehn, 215.

38. Should domestic loans be preferred to foreign loans on the part of the government? 1.00112

Plehn, 349.

39. Should public utilities be taxed in view of the generally accepted assumption that taxes are treated by these companies as an expense to be included in the cost of operation and thus passed on to those who use the products or services supplied? 1.00110

Lutz, 395.

40. Should a state income tax be levied? 1.00093

Young, 468.

41. Should the conscription of wealth as well as of men be favored in time of war? 1.00092

Beard, 367.

42. Should the income tax provide for a heavier taxation of unearned incomes? 1.00087

Plehn, 242, 287.

43. Should the county be the assessment district for tax administration? 1.00082

Lutz, 367.

44. Should there be a stronger central supervision of local assessments by a state authority; e.g., by a state tax commission? 1.00079

Young, 473.

45. Should the *ad valorem* plan be used in taxing telegraph and telephone companies? 1.00078

Lutz, 394.

46. Should the gasoline tax be approved? 1.00075

Lutz, 424.

47. Should persons who aspire to fill the office of assessor in tax administration be required to qualify for their candidacy by

passing a proper kind of examination conducted under civil service regulations? 1.00067

Lutz, 368.

48. Should private banks be permitted to issue paper money? 1.00060

Beard, 376.

49. Should a higher rate for the land tax be favored because the expenditures of government accrue so largely to the benefit of landowners? 1.00050

Plehn, 193.

50. Should the position of tax assessor be appointive? 1.00032

Young, 473.

51. Should the work of assessment be consolidated under county assessors working on full time rather than placed in the hands of local assessors in townships and districts on part time? 1.00032

Young, 473.

52. Should the publication of assessments of property be required in the local newspapers throughout the state? 1.00029

Young, 473.

F. Issues of Courts and the Judiciary

1. Should judges be subject to recall by the electorate? 9.03760

Baldwin, 386; Beard, 626; Brooks, 502; Bruce, 141; Munro, 527; Parmelee, 333; Ray, 493; Sutherland, 277; Young, 324, 624.

2. Should the judges in state courts be chosen by popular vote? In federal courts? 7.08000

Baldwin, 313, 330; Beard, 145, 625; Bruce, 138; Bryce, 350; Munro, 519, 524; Parmelee, 332; Sutherland 277.

3. Should the recall of judicial decisions on constitutional questions be favored? In criminal cases? 6.01232

Beard, 626; Brooks, 504; Bruce, 141; Parmelee, 333; Ray, 499; Young, 324, 625.

4. Should the office of public defender be created to defend the poor who are on trial for lawbreaking? 4.02036

Beard, 740; Parmelee, 301, 312; Sutherland, 268; Young, 379, 655.

5. Should the powers of state or federal courts in the matter of declaring laws unconstitutional be limited? By requiring a two-thirds vote? By requiring a unanimous decision? 4.01436

Beard, 285, 297, 302, 653; Bruce, 48; Munro, 410; Young, 324.

6. Should trial by jury be abolished? In civil cases only? 3.02267

Baldwin, 193; Parmelee, 317; Sutherland, 274.

7. Should the state courts be unified by being grouped in one organization and placed under the direction of a presiding judge who shall have authority to assign judges to overburdened courts in different parts of the state? 3.00496

Beard, 652; Bruce, 185; Young, 379.

8. Should an attempt be made to codify the entire domain of law? 3.00330

Baldwin, 54; Beard, 630; Bryce, 348.

9. Should judges in the higher courts hold life tenure during good behavior? 2.04256

Baldwin, 322; Bruce, 124.

10. Should appellate courts have the power to set aside statutes which, in their opinion, are in violation of the state or national constitutions? 2.03648

Beard, 297, 302; Bruce, 37.

11. Should appeals from a judicial decision be allowed in all cases as a matter of right? 2.00896

Baldwin, 260, 280; Beard, 641, 650.

12. Should a unanimous decision on the part of the jury be required for a verdict in a criminal trial? In a civil case? 2.00413

Baldwin, 185; Sutherland, 321, 323.

13. Should courts of arbitration and conciliation be created

whereby civil suits may be arbitrated by an impartial authority without the expense or delay and formality of a suit at law? 2.00144

Beard, 652; Young, 378.

14. Should judges exercise or share in exercising the pardoning power? 2.00125

Baldwin, 52; Parmelee, 329.

15. Should the state or federal courts have the power to declare legislation void because it is unwise, unjust, or inexpedient if the constitution involved contains no prohibition, express or implied, on the subject? 1.02551

Bruce, 60.

16. Should the writing and printing of judicial opinions be shortened and curtailed? 1.01764

Bruce, 75.

17. Should the practice of following precedents in judicial decisions be approved? 1.01520

Bruce, 13, 181.

18. Should the contingent fee method of paying attorneys be abolished? 1.01048

Bruce, 121.

19. Should the intervention of a grand jury be required for prosecution only in case of serious offenses? 1.00955

Baldwin, 237.

20. Should the provision that the defendant cannot be interrogated in any court or before any magistrate without his consent be changed? 1.00591

Baldwin, 231.

21. Should the number of justices of the peace be reduced and a fixed salary paid each one? 1.00542

Baldwin, 129.

22. Should the judge presiding at a jury trial be permitted to comment freely upon and express his opinion concerning the

weight and the sufficiency of evidence, and otherwise aid the jury in the determination of its case? 1.00472

Bruce, 192.

23. Should the practice of employing expert witnesses to testify at trials be favored? 1.00472

Bruce, 187.

24. Should the circuit court be turned into one of exclusively appellate jurisdiction? 1.00316

Baldwin, 145.

25. Should the power of judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes be abridged? 1.00251

Baldwin, 382.

26. Should judges participate in partisan political activity? 1.00243

Baldwin, 51.

27. Should the juvenile court and the general family court be merged? 1.00224

Sutherland, 301.

28. Should an organized system of medical jurisprudence be developed, with a corps of professional experts to provide impartial testimony and to decide questions arising in the courts which require specialized knowledge of medicine? 1.00208

Parmelee, 292.

29. Should free civil justice be favored; that is, the employment of attorneys by the public for the pleading and defense of civil cases? 1.00198

Parmelee, 314.

30. Should right of appeal on the part of either the government or the defendant be granted, even after a jury trial ending in a verdict of acquittal? 1.00186

Baldwin, 248.

31. Should there be a complete reorganization of criminal courts in cities by concentrating in a single court with several

sections all the criminal jurisdiction of the city, giving the presiding judge in this court the authority and the responsibility for establishing a quick procedure and having the court's docket kept up to date? 1.00180

Young, 376.

32. Should the judge of a juvenile court have a legal training?
1.00162

Sutherland, 292.

33. Should the tenure of federal judges, who hold office during good behavior, be altered? 1.00160

Bryce, 168.

34. Should juvenile courts for the trial of cases involving children be approved? 1.00133

Sutherland, 300.

35. Should a new appellate court be established in Washington to handle patent and copyright cases? 1.00121

Baldwin, 145.

36. Should a bill to provide for the appointment of eighteen additional United States district judges who shall be judges at large and who can be used in any of the districts of the United States be favored? 1.00105

Bruce, 185.

37. Should judges in state courts be appointed by the governor? 1.00097

Young, 372.

38. Should the office of magistrate or justice of the peace be abolished and local courts be created to take its place? 1.00093

Young, 376.

39. Should the right of appeal in civil and criminal cases be curtailed? 1.00086

Parmelee, 283.

40. Should the non-partisan election of judges be favored?
1.00083

Beard, 539.

41. Should the power of judges to punish in cases of contempt against themselves committed outside the courtroom be curtailed? 1.00076

Beard, 291.

42. Should single judges be preferred to a plurality of judges presiding over a trial? 1.00071

Parmelee, 331.

43. Should the number of federal judges in the metropolitan centers be increased? 1.00070

Bruce, 186.

44. Should police magistrates be chosen by popular vote?
1.00057

Beard, 737.

45. Should a reform be favored that permits private citizens to appeal to the courts to find out what the law is on some point or points without going to the expensive process of a lawsuit? 1.00051

Beard, 652.

46. Should children's cases in a juvenile court fall within equity rather than criminal jurisdiction? 1.00050

Sutherland, 288.

47. Should expert witnesses needed to give testimony on technical matters at a trial be chosen like jurors from a list prepared beforehand, the right of challenging being given to both sides? 1.00046

Parmelee, 292.

48. Should the state have a ministry of justice to coördinate and harmonize the work of the legislator and courts? 1.00042

Sutherland, 266.

49. Should federal courts have complete jurisdiction over children's cases? 1.00037

Sutherland, 288.

50. Should trial by jury be provided in contempt cases? 1.00016

Watkins, 327.

G. Issues of Territorial and Foreign Relations

1. Should independence be granted to the Philippine Islands? 3.00536

Beard, 438; Munro, 427; Young, 278.

2. Should the United States join the League of Nations? Should this question be submitted to the people for decision by referendum? 2.07255

Buell, 703; Gibbons, 160.

3. Should the Monroe Doctrine be abandoned? 2.01266

Gibbons, 56; Young, 43.

4. Should the United States join the World Court? 2.00613

Beard, 344; Gibbons, 163.

5. Should the United States adhere to its traditional policy of isolation as regards foreign affairs? 1.03960

Gibbons, 34.

6. Should agreements for the settlement of international disputes by a compulsory arbitration be favored? 1.02970

Gibbons, 121.

7. Should the plebescite be used as a means of determining the wishes of the inhabitants of a particular territory regarding its status? 1.00851

Buell, 38.

8. Should the articles of the League of Nations covenant which provide that each member is under some form of obligation to

impose a sanction in case a state illegally goes to war be approved? 1.00688

Buell, 566.

9. Should the domination of international political conferences by the great powers at the expense of the doctrine of equality of states be approved? 1.00503

Buell, 643.

10. Should the United States announce to the world that the transfer of titles from one European power to another or from a European power to Japan would not be tolerated either in the Far East or in the West Indies? 1.00461

Gibbons, 50.

11. Should the United States insist upon the literal repayment of the inter-allied debts? 1.00424

Buell, 523.

12. Should Europe and America relinquish the control which they now exercise over the so-called "backward" peoples of the world? 1.00250

Buell, 305.

13. Should agreements among the United States and other nations for the limitation of armament be approved? 1.00222

Gibbons, 136.

14. Should each nation, in so far as possible, aim for complete economic independence from the outside world? 1.00212

Buell, 97.

15. Should a government go to the support of its citizens in disputes over capital invested abroad? 1.00209

Buell, 388, 394.

16. Should foreign governments undertake to prohibit the export of liquor to "dry" countries? 1.00196

Buell, 259.

17. Should a plan for the outlawry of war by compulsory arbi-

tration rest on some sanction of force to restrain a nation which, in violation of its promises, illegally resorts to war? 1.00185

Buell, 614.

18. Should the creation of a large number of small nation-states by the doctrine of self determination be favored? 1.00177

Buell, 45.

19. Should there be established an American League of Nations? 1.00177

Buell, 238.

20. Should the League of Nations have jurisdiction over disputes on the American continent where the Monroe Doctrine now obtains? 1.00163

Buell, 601.

21. Should export taxes be used under normal conditions as weapons of economic warfare? 1.00130

Buell, 107.

22. Should a permanent international emigration commission be established "with a view to directing the migratory current, in a reasonable manner, from countries where work is scarce to countries where labor is required"? 1.00130

Buell, 167.

23. Should the use of force for the collection of debts be made illegal under international law? 1.00120

Buell, 396.

24. Should the construction and use of submarines as a means of warfare be absolutely prohibited? 1.00098

Buell, 534.

25. Should a referendum be held on questions of foreign policy? 1.00091

Buell, 702.

26. Should universal free trade be favored? 1.00069

Buell, 135.

27. Should the question of war (except in case of threatened or actual attack) be submitted to the people for decision by referendum? 1.00062

Buell, 703.

28. Should a state be justified in abrogating a treaty which it feels is no longer applicable because of changed conditions? 1.00047

Buell, 629.

H. Issues of Immigration

1. Should there be further restriction upon immigration into the United States? 6.09204

Ellwood, 230; Fairchild, 309, 434; Gibbons, 181; Groves, 297; Jenks and Lauck, 404, 457; Watkins, 284.

2. Should a literacy test be required of all immigrants? 4.02519

Ellwood, 236; Fairchild, 383; Groves, 296; Jenks and Lauck, 384, 425.

3. Should Orientals be excluded from the United States? 4.02306

Beard, 143; Fairchild, 461; Groves, 285; Watkins, 292.

4. Should immigration to the United States be selected by race, those being debarred who come from a nation that has provided in the past immigrants of a less desirable character? 2.01698

Fairchild, 450; Jenks and Lauck, 49.

5. Should Asiatic laborers be excluded from the United States? 2.00828

Ellwood, 241; Jenks and Lauck, 258.

6. Should immigration be restricted by quota regulation? 1.01091

Jenks and Lauck, 385, 420.

7. Should the immigration laws be revised to read that all

Oriental except laborers shall be permitted to enter the United States? 1.00305

Jenks and Lauck, 415.

8. Should America's doors be closed against those suffering from religious or political persecution? 1.00217

Jenks and Lauck, 2, 411.

9. Should the percentage plan be adopted as the means to the settlement of the problem of Asiatic immigration? 1.00217

Jenks and Lauck, 388.

10. Should the principle of racial equality be upheld even at the expense of racial homogeneity? 1.00203

Buell, 65.

11. Should special discrimination be made against men unaccompanied by wives or children in restricting immigration? 1.00182

Fairchild, 197.

12. Should a law be passed requiring United States government officials, both men and women, to be placed at the expense of the companies on all ships carrying third class or steerage passengers to or from the United States? 1.00176

Fairchild, 184.

13. Should Hindu immigrants be excluded from the United States? 1.00156

Groves, 287.

14. Should racial segregation be practiced as between countries by immigration restrictions? 1.00145

Buell, 59.

15. Should more effective measures be taken to prevent the further admission of immoral persons and of criminals to the United States? 1.00102

Jenks and Lauck, 403.

16. Should the rate in the quota plan of immigration restric-

tion be a fluctuating one fixed annually according to the economic needs of the country? 1.00097

Fairchild, 472.

17. Should immigration to the United States be by positive individual selection rather than by negative elimination as now? 1.00067

Fairchild, 471.

18. Should some system be devised whereby immigrants may be given medical inspection before they leave their homes for a port of embarkation to the United States? 1.00064

Jenks and Lauck, 46.

19. Should better facilities be provided first cabin passengers detained at immigration stations than those provided for steerage passengers? 1.00061

Fairchild, 187.

20. Should the contract labor clause in the immigration laws be repealed as putting a premium on dishonesty and evasion of law? 1.00061

Fairchild, 471.

21. Should the countries of the western hemisphere be put under the quota plan of immigration restriction? 1.00055

Fairchild, 472.

22. Should registration of all aliens in the United States be required by law? 1.00036

Fairchild, 471.

23. Should immigration into the United States be stopped altogether until the present foreign population can be Americanized? 1.00035

Groves, 297.

24. Should more effective measures be taken to prevent alien seamen from entering the United States by desertion from their ships while in an American port? 1.00026

Jenks and Lauck, 403.

25. Should unrestricted emigration of the laboring classes from country to country be permitted? 1.00018

Buell, 57.

I. Issues of Criminology

1. Should capital punishment be abolished? 5.03248

Beard, 649; Ellwood, 349; Groves, 63; Parmelee, 410; Sutherland, 368.

2. Should courts be permitted to use probation instead of commitment at their discretion in dealing with offenders? 4.01758

Ellwood, 351; Groves, 52; Parmelee, 400; Sutherland, 585.

3. Should the indefinite or indeterminate sentence be employed in sentencing criminals? 3.01048

Baldwin, 243; Parmelee, 397; Sutherland, 518.

4. Should whipping as a legal penalty be approved? 3.00802

Baldwin, 245; Parmelee, 447; Sutherland, 366.

5. Should the labor of prisoners be sold by contract to private employers? 3.00657

Baldwin, 247; Catlin, 497; Parmelee, 429.

6. Should prisoners be paid a wage for their labor in prison? 3.00449

Groves, 57; Parmelee, 429; Sutherland, 466.

7. Should there be state control of municipal police? 3.00196

Beard, 735; Parmelee, 339; Sutherland, 196.

8. Should the system of self government for prisoners be approved? 2.01204

Groves, 60; Sutherland, 435.

9. Should individualization in the treatment of each offender be adopted as a substitute for the fixed penalty? 2.01185

Parmelee, 394; Sutherland, 599.

10. Should the state police forces in the various commonwealths in the United States be abolished? 2.00668

Parmelee, 338; Sutherland, 201.

11. Should the separate rather than the congregate method of imprisonment be used in prisons? 2.00475

Parmelee, 425; Sutherland, 398.

12. Should imprisonment as a principal policy in dealing with criminals be regarded as undesirable? 2.00426

Groves, 62; Sutherland, 441.

13. Should reparation be made by the state to innocent persons who suffer the evils of preliminary detention and prosecution? 2.00381

Parmelee, 353; Sutherland, 230.

14. Should persons on probation be required to make regular formal reports to the probation officer? 2.00363

Ellwood, 351; Sutherland, 573.

15. Should prison-made goods be sold in competition with the products of free labor? 2.00304

Parmelee, 427; Sutherland, 458.

16. Should sterilization be used as a penalty on criminals and defectives who have an unquestionably hereditary trait which is dangerous to society? 2.00156

Parmelee, 449; Sutherland, 386, 621.

17. Should the punishment attitude toward offenders be abandoned? 1.01164

Sutherland, 353.

18. Should the method of transportation of criminals be abandoned? 1.00407

Sutherland, 363.

19. Should the system of pardoning prisoners be abolished? 1.00403

Sutherland, 502.

20. Should the plea of guilty in criminal cases be abolished and a fair trial be guaranteed to all who are accused? 1.00361

Parmelee, 307.

21. Should the practice of classifying crimes as felonies and misdemeanors be abandoned? 1.00274

Sutherland, 22.

22. Should police control be centralized rather than local? 1.00249

Parmelee, 336.

23. Should fines as a penalty be abandoned? 1.00237

Sutherland, 378.

24. Should probation officers be volunteer rather than paid workers? 1.00237

Sutherland, 569.

25. Should a system of periodic revision of sentences by judges, whereby each judge could revise from time to time the sentence of each person sentenced by him to insure the wisest and most just treatment of the prisoner, be established? 1.00203

Parmelee, 284, 331, 408.

26. Should the state police be used in labor disturbances? 1.00187

Sutherland, 204.

27. Should the system of financial security (bail) as a substitute for detention be approved? 1.00187

Sutherland, 212.

28. Should children charged with delinquency who must be detained be provided for in private boarding homes selected by the state? 1.00179

Sutherland, 235.

29. Should penal institutions as largely educational be controlled by the department of education? 1.00179

Sutherland, 610.

30. Should offenders be made to make reparation or restitution to injured parties for the damage caused by their offense? 1.00175

Sutherland, 382.

31. Should juvenile reformatories be under private control? 1.00166

Sutherland, 407.

32. Should all laws regarding the major offenses—murder, arson, burglary, robbery, etc.—be passed by the federal government and be uniform in all states? 1.00154

Sutherland, 58.

33. Should an honor system for prisons be favored? 1.00134

Groves, 61.

34. Should the Bureau of the Census establish a crime registration area, make standards, and include in an annual report the statistics of crime of those states or cities which conform to the standards? 1.00121

Sutherland, 55.

35. Should rural police officers (sheriff, marshal, and constable) be paid by the fee system? 1.00116

Sutherland, 190.

36. Should the prosecution of crime be simplified by the abolition of the grand jury? 1.00112

Parmelee, 282.

37. Should the coroner's office be abolished and a board of competent medical authorities substituted in its place? 1.00112

Parmelee, 294.

38. Should the administration of a city police department be in the hands of a single commissioner rather than of a board of commissioners? 1.00104

Sutherland, 197.

39. Should the continental system requiring every individual

to report to the police when he comes into a city be adopted in the United States? 1.00083

Sutherland, 208.

40. Should specialized defenders be provided and paid by voluntary groups rather than by the state for the defense of persons accused of crime? 1.00083

Sutherland, 270.

41. Should small communities unite in having common jails that would permit of more efficient administration than the average local jail? 1.00076

Parmelee, 443.

42. Should probation officers be permitted or encouraged to take cases which are not transmitted to them by court action? 1.00075

Sutherland, 582.

43. Should the county jail be abolished? 1.00071

Groves, 52.

44. Should the state organize a criminal registration bureau with the practical purpose of detection of criminals? 1.00058

Sutherland, 55.

45. Should castration be used as a supplementary penalty to check individuals from committing acts of violence and to make them more amenable to prison discipline? 1.00051

Parmelee, 415.

46. Should the installment method of paying fines be adopted? 1.00050

Sutherland, 378.

47. Should the federal government assume the trial and treatment of all immigrants accused of crime on the ground that immigrants until naturalization are primarily wards of the federal government? 1.00029

Sutherland, 407.

48. Should appointment to the police force be dependent on

an examination somewhat similar to that given to candidates for positions in the army, with a similar method of determining fitness on the basis of the examination? 1.00025

Sutherland, 198.

49. Should the cottage system of prison construction in place of the cell blocks be favored? 1.00025

Parmelee, 423.

50. Should a federal office of prisons be established in the Department of the Interior to have control of all federal prisons and prisoners and, also, to assist in scientific research work in criminology and to promote coöperation between state agencies? 1.00021

Sutherland, 406.

51. Should courts assume such broad powers as to define as delinquents, and hence in need of the guardianship of the state, all adults chargeable with actual or potential misconduct? 1.00020

Sutherland, 311.

J. Issues of Labor and Capital

1. Should forms of social insurance, including compulsory health insurance, a system of old age pensions, and insurance against unemployment, be adopted by the state? 5.01353

Beard, 145, 687; Catlin, 502; Munro, 499; Watkins, 630, 631; Young, 412, 413.

2. Should the use of the injunction in labor disputes be curtailed? Prohibited? 4.01620

Beard, 293, 399, 683; Catlin, 471; Watkins, 324; Young, 329.

3. Should minimum wage laws be enacted? For women and children only? 4.01232

Beard, 685; Catlin, 477, 488, 507, 546; Watkins, 602; Young, 414.

4. Should there be compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes? In the public utility industries and in the food, fuel, clothing, mining, and transportation businesses only? 4.01007

Beard, 398, 688; Catlin, 457, 470; Watkins, 437; Young, 421, 422.

5. Should there be an amendment to the Constitution authorizing a child labor law? 4.00178

Beard, 398; Catlin, 477; Watkins, 600; Young, 490.

6. Should laws regulating the hours of labor in industry be favored? 3.01098

Beard, 143; Catlin, 91, 477, 491; Watkins, 104, 111.

7. Should public employment agencies be established by the government? 3.00545

Catlin, 498; Watkins, 242; Young, 418.

8. Should workmen's compensation laws be enacted? 3.00523

Catlin, 478, 499, 536; Watkins, 623; Young, 411.

9. Should the socialistic program for the socialization of industry by collective enterprise be favored? 2.01964

Catlin, 623; Watkins, 566.

10. Should the plan of consumers' coöperation, or the placing of the whole of industry in the hands of the community of consumers organized on the coöperative system, be favored? 2.01600

Catlin, 588; Watkins, 537.

11. Should the open shop, where there is no discrimination between union and non-union workers, be insisted upon in those industries where labor is organized? 2.01461

Catlin, 319, 344; Watkins, 375.

12. Should the shop committee or company union be accepted in lieu of the trade union as a form of labor organization for collective bargaining? 2.01029

Catlin, 322; Watkins, 468.

13. Should industrial strikes be prohibited by statute? In the key industries only? 2.00801

Catlin, 413, 470, 494; Watkins, 306, 315.

14. Should labor unions be required to incorporate in order that they may be made legally responsible? 2.00703

Catlin, 336, 342; Watkins, 385.

15. Should the boycott be considered a justifiable weapon in industrial disputes? 2.00675

Catlin, 425, 466; Watkins, 316.

16. Should picketing be permitted during a strike? 2.00464

Catlin, 466, 470; Watkins, 319.

17. Should blacklisting by employers be forbidden? 2.00242

Catlin, 205, 470; Watkins, 323.

18. Should public work be systematically adjusted and distributed so that in times of temporary industrial depression work may be provided for those thrown out of employment? 2.00219

Beard, 145; Watkins, 238.

19. Should there be old age pensions for government employees? 2.00165

Catlin, 502; Young, 610.

20. Should child labor in industry be condemned? 1.01750

Watkins, 120.

21. Should labor resort to political methods and seek by legislation to achieve its ends rather than by collective bargaining? 1.00926

Catlin, 543.

22. Should the right of organization and collective bargaining on the part of labor be recognized? 1.00791

Catlin, 317, 467.

23. Should women be given compensation equal to men's whenever they perform the same tasks with equal efficiency? 1.00371

Watkins, 161.

24. Should night work in industry be abolished? 1.00332

Watkins, 106.

25. Should all restrictive and protective legislation specially affecting women be repealed or extended upon the same terms to

men in order that equality of the sexes in industry may be secured? 1.00330

Catlin, 488.

26. Should the private, fee-charging employment agency be abolished? 1.00316

Watkins, 240.

27. Should the proposal for a national system of adjustment for industrial disputes, comprising a national industrial board appointed by the President, local regional conferences, and boards of inquiry, be favored? 1.00300

Watkins, 444.

28. Should employees who participate in profits also share in the losses of the company in which they are employed? 1.00296

Watkins, 513.

29. Should the profit sharing plan of industrial remuneration be approved? 1.00296

Watkins, 515.

30. Should the priority or seniority rule covering hiring, firing, and promotions be approved? 1.00296

Catlin, 367.

31. Should the restriction of output in various ways by trade unions be approved? 1.00241

Watkins, 370.

32. Should employers recognize trade unions as the spokesmen of their employees and enter voluntarily into trade agreements with them? 1.00203

Catlin, 327.

33. Should state boards of arbitration and conciliation be established for the settlement of industrial disputes? 1.00191

Young, 419.

34. Should the human risks of industry be borne by industry,

the employers insuring against accidents as well as against fire, and charging the cost to working expenses? 1.00187

Beard, 686.

35. Should government employees be permitted to form unions for the purpose of coöperating in seeking to improve their conditions of work? 1.00168

Beard, 321.

36. Should unions be held financially liable for torts committed by them in strikes? 1.00165

Catlin, 475.

37. Should physical examination of employees by the medical department of the company in which they are employed be approved? 1.00142

Watkins, 483.

38. Should the cost of living be used as the sole basis for wage adjustments in the employment of labor? 1.00134

Watkins, 53.

39. Should the maintenance of a compulsory waiting list by labor unions, from which the employer must accept (beginning at the top of the list) the men he wishes to hire, be approved? 1.00131

Catlin, 366.

40. Should civil service employees who are disabled while in the performance of duty be pensioned? 1.00126

Young, 610.

41. Should immigration be strictly regulated for the purpose of effecting an approximate equilibration between the influx of immigrants and the demand for labor? 1.00126

Watkins, 234.

42. Should responsibility for unemployment be placed, like accident insurance, "on the business men who alone are in a position to prevent it"? 1.00124

Beard, 688.

43. Should laws passed legalizing the use of the union label be condemned as class legislation? 1.00119

Watkins, 321.

44. Should the tendency toward industrial unionism in American trade unionism be favored? 1.00107

Watkins, 384.

45. Should Sunday labor in industry be approved? 1.00107

Watkins, 110.

46. Should the Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railroads be favored? 1.00087

Watkins, 384.

47. Should there be instituted some formal system of coöperation between the government and organizations of government employees with a view to an intelligent and sympathetic adjustment of all controversies as they arise? 1.00083

Beard, 322.

48. Should the wage system be considered the ideal method of industrial remuneration? 1.00079

Watkins, 69.

49. Should strikes on the part of public employees be prohibited? 1.00051

Watkins, 316.

50. Should the employment of walking delegates in labor organization be approved? 1.00042

Catlin, 326.

51. Should strikes against the employment of non-unionists be permitted? 1.00038

Catlin, 466.

52. Should there be federal legislation to prevent the unfair competition of convict-made goods entering into interstate commerce? 1.00034

Catlin, 497.

53. Should old age pension acts for miners be enacted? 1.00025

Catlin, 502.

54. Should sympathetic strikes be permitted? 1.00021

Catlin, 466.

55. Should there be legislation requiring mention of the existence of a strike in all advertisements for strikebreakers? 1.00017

Catlin, 470.

K. Issues of Education

1. Should there be larger taxing units for school purposes to further the equalization of educational opportunity? 2.01160

Bagley and Keith, 305; Cubberley, 418.

2. Should the platoon plan of school organization and teaching procedure be adopted for the elementary school? 2.00720

Bagley and Keith, 373; Cubberley, 287.

3. Should the nationalistic spirit be perpetuated and intensified through the study of national history in the public schools? 1.00899

Bagley and Keith, 81.

4. Should the county be adopted as the unit for school organization and administration? 1.00854

Cubberley, 404.

5. Should the 6-3-3 form of school organization be substituted for the 8-4 system? 1.00633

Cubberley, 286, 290.

6. Should the district as the unit of school organization and administration be abolished? 1.00607

Cubberley, 374.

7. Should the compulsory consolidation of rural schools be favored? 1.00601

Cubberley, 394.

8. Should state control of public instruction (as contrasted with local control) be approved? 1.00531

Cubberley, 58, 79.

9. Should a federal department of education be created with a secretary in the President's Cabinet? 1.00462

Cubberley, 423.

10. Should the Education Bill providing for national aid for education be approved? 1.00462

Cubberley, 423.

11. Should part-time school laws be enacted to require the attendance at a part-time continuation school of those who leave school under working permits to seek employment? 1.00398

Cubberley, 338.

12. Should pupils in the schools be segregated on the basis of their learning abilities? 1.00361

Bagley and Keith, 195.

13. Should the city school system appoint visiting teachers to investigate and handle problems of the school in its relations with the home? 1.00297

Cubberley, 303.

14. Should the class system of simultaneous instruction in the public schools be abandoned? 1.00286

Bagley and Keith, 197.

15. Should under-nourished children be fed by the school, the community being charged for this work? 1.00247

Cubberley, 305.

16. Should laws be enacted making Americanization work a general state undertaking? 1.00247

Cubberley, 340.

17. Should all home study be abolished in at least the first six years of school? 1.00240

Cubberley, 239.

18. Should the modern movement toward the older mode of individual instruction be approved? 1.00235

Bagley and Keith, 197.

19. Should the Dalton plan of individual instruction be approved for the public schools? 1.00210

Bagley and Keith, 199.

20. Should the work of the kindergarten and the early primary grades be fused? 1.00185

Bagley and Keith, 343.

21. Should the county be adopted as the unit of taxation for the support of schools? 1.00158

Cubberley, 415.

22. Should the Winnetka plan for individual instruction in the public schools be favored? 1.00143

Bagley and Keith, 199.

23. Should there be special treatment for gifted children in the public schools? 1.00126

Bagley and Keith, 196.

24. Should the study of science in the lower schools be limited to the applications of science as they are found in the other school subjects? 1.00118

Bagley and Keith, 95.

25. Should history be taught almost exclusively in connection with problems that arise in the study of other subjects, the systematic study of history as such being abandoned? 1.00109

Bagley and Keith, 79.

26. Should the Batavia system of instruction be adopted? 1.00076

Bagley and Keith, 198.

27. Should the Pueblo plan of individual instruction be approved? 1.00076

Bagley and Keith, 198.

28. Should the age limit for compulsory school attendance be set at sixteen years at least? 1.00044

Cubberley, 298.

29. Should the foreign language school for the education of children of the foreign population be forbidden? 1.00038

Cubberley, 340.

L. Issues of Social Welfare

1. Should the disciplinary problems of the juvenile court be transferred to the school as the proper agency for jurisdiction and control over children? 2.00923

Groves, 31; Sutherland, 302.

2. Should there be uniform laws regulating marriage and divorce? 2.00293

Beard, 636; Ellwood, 169.

3. Should Marxian socialism as a proposed scheme of social reconstruction be favored? 1.02016

Ellwood, 354.

4. Should the socialization of medicine in the form of a state system of public medical service be favored? 1.00467

Groves, 249.

5. Should free divorce be favored? 1.00435

Ellwood, 159, 167.

6. Should the proposal of municipal supervision and control of all those things which are used in common by the people in the city be favored as a solution of "the problem of the city"? 1.00427

Ellwood, 294.

7. Should the father of an illegitimate child be held as responsible for the child as he would be if it were born in wedlock? 1.00389

Groves, 200, 203.

8. Should permanent monogamy continue to exist and be the standard in western civilization? 1.00387

Ellwood, 147.

9. Should polygamy be legalized in civilized countries? 1.00316

Ellwood, 124.

10. Should free love in present society be favored? 1.00277

Ellwood, 107.

11. Should the matter of divorce be put into the hands of special courts of domestic relations? 1.00277

Ellwood, 171.

12. Should the state put a high tax upon families without children? 1.00269

Groves, 145.

13. Should laws placing restrictions upon marriage be favored as a remedy for the instability of the family? 1.00206

Ellwood, 173.

14. Should the advocacy of a family with no more than two children as an ideal one be approved? 1.00206

Ellwood, 195.

15. Should outdoor relief be undertaken by public authorities? 1.00198

Ellwood, 319.

16. Should laws placing restrictions upon the remarriage of divorced parties be favored? 1.00182

Ellwood, 172.

17. Should marriage be a purely private matter entered upon and departed from by mere mutual consent? 1.00177

Groves, 163.

18. Should a divorce proctor be appointed in every court which tries divorce cases whose duty shall be to inquire carefully into every application for divorce to see whether the alleged grounds

actually exist and whether there is an absence of collusion or fraud, and then to advise the judge? 1.00166

Ellwood, 170.

19. Should the plan for spreading a network of narrow gauge railroads throughout rural districts, so that they may be made more accessible and rural life more attractive, be favored? 1.00156

Groves, 353.

20. Should laws be enacted making it criminal for a landlord to keep his house from a person with children on the ground that he does not want children in his house? 1.00141

Groves, 144.

21. Should there be state supervision of children born out of wedlock; of all private hospitals which receive unmarried mothers for confinement, and of all child-placing agencies which are under private management? 1.00127

Groves, 202.

22. Should there be stricter laws lessening the number of legal grounds for absolute divorce? 1.00111

Ellwood, 172.

23. Should the negroes be admitted at once to full social equality with the whites as a solution of the race problem? 1.00111

Ellwood, 265.

24. Should all negroes be deported to Africa or to South America as a solution of the negro problem? 1.00111

Ellwood, 265.

25. Should all negroes be colonized in some state or in territory adjacent to the United States as a solution of the negro problem? 1.00111

Ellwood, 265.

26. Should the extinction of the negro by natural selection be encouraged as a solution of the negro problem? 1.00111

Ellwood, 265.

27. Should the advocacy of a plan to colonize the poor of the cities in the country—a sort of “back to the land” movement—be favored? 1.00103

Ellwood, 293.

28. Should popular education of the negroes along literary and intellectual lines be favored as a solution of the negro problem? 1.00103

Ellwood, 265.

29. Should a system of mothers' pensions be established in each state? 1.00087

Watkins, 634.

30. Should a complete system of old age pensions be favored, as a substitute for the poorhouse? 1.00083

Beard, 693.

31. Should the juvenile court be merged into the wider reaching court of domestic relations, which would have jurisdiction over all family problems, including delinquency and other matters appertaining to children? 1.00071

Groves, 31.

32. Should the schools take over sex instruction in a specific and narrow sense in order that youth may be better prepared for marriage? 1.00064

Groves, 171.

33. Should Japanese pupils be segregated from the white children in the public schools? 1.00057

Groves, 285.

A COMPOSITE RANK ORDER LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TWENTY-FIVE TREATISE ISSUES

1. Should judges be subject to recall by the electorate?
9.03760
2. Should judges in state courts be chosen by popular vote?
In federal courts? 7.08000

3. Should there be further restriction upon immigration into the United States? 6.09204
4. Should the initiative and the referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation? 6.06811
5. Should the recall of judicial decisions on constitutional questions be favored? In criminal cases? 6.01232
6. Should there be an educational qualification for voting? 6.01115
7. Should the general property tax be abandoned? 5.05797
8. Should candidates for public office be nominated by direct primary elections? 5.03502
9. Should capital punishment be abolished? 5.03248
10. Should the recall of elective officials be approved? Of appointive officials? 5.02652
11. Should there be government ownership and operation of the railways? Of the telegraph? Of the telephone? 5.01466
12. Should forms of social insurance, including compulsory health insurance, a system of old age pensions, and insurance against unemployment, be adopted by the state? 5.01353
13. Should the tax exemption for all municipal, state, and federal bonds be repealed? 5.01081
14. Should the principles advocated by the short ballot movement be approved? 4.02823
15. Should a literacy test be required of all immigrants? 4.02519
16. Should Orientals be excluded from the United States? 4.02306
17. Should the United States have a protective tariff policy? 4.02210
18. Should the office of public defender be created to defend the poor who are on trial for lawbreaking? 4.02036
19. Should the system of proportional representation of political parties in legislative bodies be adopted? 4.01883
20. Should courts be permitted to use probation instead of commitment at their discretion in dealing with offenders? 4.01758
21. Should the use of the injunction in labor disputes be curtailed? Prohibited? 4.01620
22. Should the powers of state or federal courts in the matter of declaring laws unconstitutional be limited? By requiring

- a two-thirds vote? By requiring a unanimous decision?
4.01436
23. Should there be municipal ownership and operation of public utilities? 4.01331
24. Should minimum wage laws be enacted? For women and children only? 4.01232
25. Should there be compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes? In the public utility industries and in the food, fuel, clothing, mining, and transportation businesses only?
4.01007

CHAPTER VII

A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OF THE TEXTBOOK AND TREATISE ANALYSES

THE ISSUES COMPARED

The original intention in undertaking an analysis of the two sources—the text and the treatise—for issues was to derive two lists so that one may serve as a check against the other. How many of the issues in high school texts are deemed by the specialists in the various fields to be of sufficient importance to be included in the treatises that they write? In Table IV we note that of the net total of 429 different issues discovered as a result of the analysis of the fifteen civics textbooks, 150 or 35 per cent represent issues appearing also in the treatises. In view of the nature of the comparison being made—the widely different character and purpose of the two sources—it will be conceded that the agreement between the two lists of issues is marked. This becomes even more apparent when this added fact is taken into account; namely, that those issues which appear at the top of each group of issues tend to agree, while those less important ones in the lower half of each group are but seldom duplicated in the two sources. This is evidence that civics text writers recognize the more important issues in the several technical fields embraced by their subject. It also is *prima facie* evidence of the fact that the bases of evaluation which were utilized in ranking the two lists of issues are valid.

An advanced student in economics, conversant with the fields of public finance and labor problems, was asked to examine and comment upon the issues drawn from the texts and the treatises relating to these two subjects. In substance his remarks were as follows: "The lists from the treatises comprise the more significant and widely debated issues in the respective fields; they are such lists as would be of interest even to authorities in public finance and labor problems, representing as they do

the important controverted points in the two fields. The lists from the textbooks, however, are not so adequate, for, while they do contain many of the more important issues, they, at the same time, include numerous issues of but little consequence." Unquestionably civics textbooks do present issues unimportant and oftentimes trivial in nature. It may be contended that the explanation for the presence of this inconsequential material is to be found in the fact that many of these texts are intended for junior high school pupils. This view, however, involves the assumption of a direct proportional relation between the importance and the difficulty of issues, an assumption which is untenable. Our criticism, then, is of the lower half of the various lists

TABLE IV

THE GROSS AND NET NUMBER OF ISSUES
IN THE TEXTS AND THE TREATISES ANALYZED;
THE NUMBER OF DUPLICATE ISSUES APPEARING IN BOTH SOURCES;
AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ISSUES FROM BOTH SOURCES,
EXCLUSIVE OF ALL DUPLICATIONS

Source	Gross Number of Issues	Net Number of Issues— Exclusive of Duplications	Number of Issues Appearing in Both Sources	Total Number of Different Issues in Both Sources Exclusive of All Duplications
Textbooks	894	429	150	803
Treatises	807	524		
Total	1701	953	150	803

of text issues. The upper portions of these lists are, on the whole, adequate; they contain what, in the opinion of leading authorities, are the significant issues. But greater discrimination must be exercised in the choice of the secondary issues. Selection from such a collection as that in the treatise lists presented in this study would undoubtedly produce issues of greater worth.

WHAT ISSUES ARE EMPHASIZED?

The relative importance assigned to the various groups of issues in civics texts is a matter of interest. According to the

figures given in Table V, government issues occupy a preponderant position in these texts. Including under the term "government" issues of national, state, and local government as well as those of practical politics, we find that this group comprises 57 per cent of all the issues in the fifteen texts analyzed. In the individual volumes government issues vary in importance, ranging from 20 per cent in Burch and Patterson's *Problems of American Democracy* to 86 per cent in Boynton's *School Civics*. Reference to the data in Table VI shows the same line of emphasis among the treatises. Issues tend to be more abundant in the government treatises than in the others. This suggests the possibility that the subject is so circumstanced as to be especially plentiful in issues. Indeed a scrutiny of the totals in Table VI lends support to the view that some subjects are characteristically more abundant in issues, for there we find issues consistently plentiful in certain subjects (as government, practical politics, criminology, and labor and capital), and consistently few in others (as immigration, and the judiciary). To return to the textbooks, the situation there prompts the query as to whether government issues should properly be given 57 per cent of attention in the average civics text. No opinion on this point shall be ventured here as the question does not fall within the direct province of this study.

COMPARISON OF THE TREATMENT OF ISSUES

The outstanding fact revealed in Table VII is that no less than 49 per cent of all issues in the textbooks are to be found in the exercises. The relegation of so great a proportion of issues to this ancillary position justifies the suspicion that issues are not deemed by authors of civics texts to be of primary importance. If the exercise issues were largely repetitions of issues already presented in the body of the texts, the twofold appearance of the issues would be evidence of a scrupulous concern for their recognition. That this is not the case is demonstrated by the fact that of all the issues appearing in the exercises, 83 per cent are found there alone, while only 17 per cent are found in the body of the texts as well as in the exercises. The 83 per cent of purely exercise issues include many of the most crucial issues in their respective fields. Why were these issues not presented as such in the main portions of these texts? The conclusion is inevi-

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTBOOK ISSUES
BY SUBJECT AND AUTHOR

SUBJECT	CIVICS TEXTBOOKS															TOTAL	
	Ash- ley	Beard	Boyn- ton	Burch & Patterson	Davis- McClure	Dunn	For- man	Gar- ner	Guit- teau	Har- man	Has- kin	Hill	Hughes	Ma- gruder	Munro	Num- ber	Per Cent
National Government . . .	12	8	21	1	13	2	16	27	13	5	3	9	20	18	15	183	21
State Government	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	0	1	2	6	0	24	3
Local Government	9	6	4	6	6	6	10	10	10	6	0	6	11	12	3	105	12
Practical Politics	19	10	18	4	14	8	13	10	16	16	0	12	18	14	12	184	21
Public Finance	7	7	2	8	4	1	6	1	10	2	0	1	5	4	4	62	7
Courts and Judiciary	7	5	0	4	1	5	5	8	5	0	1	1	7	5	6	60	6
Foreign Relations	6	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	6	4	28	3
Immigration	2	0	0	6	0	3	0	1	2	1	0	3	0	0	1	19	2
Criminology	3	6	1	7	0	1	1	0	5	6	0	5	6	4	0	45	5
Labor and Capital	16	9	0	18	0	0	3	0	4	5	0	10	4	2	5	76	8
Education	3	1	4	0	7	0	1	1	5	3	0	16	16	3	1	61	7
Social Welfare	2	2	0	4	2	0	1	1	2	3	1	11	11	6	1	47	5
Total . . .	89	56	51	59	47	29	58	61	75	51	5	77	104	80	52	894	
	10	6	6	7	5	3	6	7	8	6	1	9	12	8	6		

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF TREATISE ISSUES
By SUBJECT AND AUTHOR

SUBJECT	Government				Practical Politics		Public Finance		Courts & Judiciary		Foreign Relations		Immigration		Criminology		Labor & Capital		Education		Social Welfare		TOTAL	
	Beard	Bryce	Munro	Young	Brooks	Ray	Lutz	Plehn	Baldwin	Bruce	Buell	Gibbons	Fairchild	Jenks Lauck	Parmelee	Sutherland	Catlin	Watkins	Cubberley	Bagley Keith	Ellwood	Groves	Number	Per Cent
National Government	33	13	17	29	1	2	7	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	112	14
State Government	14	4	11	17	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	6
Local Government	7	12	14	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	5	
Practical Politics	16	4	9	19	37	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	125	15	
Public Finance	13	1	3	8	0	0	34	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80	10	
Courts and Judiciary	15	3	4	10	2	2	0	0	16	15	0	0	0	0	11	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	89	11
Foreign Relations	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	4
Immigration	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	12	11	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	5	38	5
Criminology	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	21	40	1	0	0	0	3	7	77	10
Labor and Capital	13	0	1	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	38	0	0	0	0	98	12
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	14	0	0	31	4
Social Welfare	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	20	12	36	4
TOTAL	118	37	60	102	40	45	42	23	19	16	29	8	12	11	32	51	36	43	18	14	27	24	807	

table that the importance of issues as such is in no way adequately realized.

When the issues in the main body of the texts are considered, we find that but 20 per cent are presented directly as issues (Tables VII and IX). This is in contrast to the 42 per cent of this form in the treatises (Table VIII). The remaining issues in the texts, consisting of 31 per cent of the total, are implied. The inference is clear that but a small fraction (one-fifth) of the issues in civics textbooks are frankly faced as issues by their authors. The large majority of issues are either consigned to the exercise portions of the texts or indirectly implied as issues in the body. What is the reason for this apparent reluctance to face issues squarely? In all fairness it should perhaps be granted to begin with that only rarely are issues consciously avoided by text authors. It is conceivable that in some instances discretion may dictate the sidetracking of a controversial issue or two. Or perhaps it may be thought that a textbook is no proper place for the discussion of controversial questions. Aside from this exception, it is doubtless correct to conclude that the paucity of stated issues in civics textbooks is due to a variety of considerations, any one of which may be sufficient to explain the retiring of issues to a subordinate rôle without the need for assuming malice aforethought on the part of the text writer. Prominent among these considerations are those of space, difficulty, and form.

It can easily be seen that the outright declaration that a certain point is an issue will involve more or less extended elucidation before the point may be rested as clear. Particularly will this be true if an attempt is made to present both sides of the issue. That the confined compass of the usual civics text would permit but a limited number of these elucidations and presentations can readily be appreciated. A possible explanation of the larger number of stated issues in the treatises analyzed, then, is the greater space available in these volumes. (See Table X.)

Difficulty as a factor may enter in this way. If the author feels that a certain issue is difficult material for the pupils of high school level for whom he is writing, he will avoid the details it is necessary to supply if the issue is to be directly presented. This may lead either to the entire avoidance of the issue, or to a mere mention of the matter as an issue by implication. Seen

in this light, treatises deal more generously with issues because they are intended for the advanced student.

Matters of form undoubtedly enter in to determine the way in which an issue is presented. Considerations of good style may operate to discourage the monotonous development of the pro and con of each issue. The exigencies of composition may often determine, perhaps quite accidentally, whether a certain point will be worded in one way so as to be considered a stated issue, or in another way so as to be deemed an implied one.

These considerations have not been offered to justify the paucity of stated issues in civics textbooks, but rather to explain, if possible, the reasons that underlie this state of affairs. By way of conclusion, it may be observed that perhaps the most pertinent explanation for the neglect of issues is that text writers have not had the importance of issues brought clearly to their attention.

COMPARISON WITH THE RESULTS OF A PREVIOUS STUDY

Hockett's study ¹ reports 104 issues. How many of these are duplicated in the present investigation? It would seem clearly worth while to compare the findings of these two related studies so that they may be checked, one against the other. The results of such a comparison, however, must be interpreted in the light of the fact that issues as they are understood in the present study are not identical with issues as they are presented by Hockett, who draws no clear line between his problems and issues as such. Table XI shows that 67 of Hockett's issues, or 64 per cent of the total, are found with a greater or less degree of similarity in the text and treatise lists reported here. This may reasonably be considered a significant agreement in view of the different sources from which the respective lists of issues were drawn and the not exactly identical fields covered by them. It is true, too, that Hockett's list represents a more advanced viewpoint. This is to be expected in the very nature of the case, since he quite purposely went to the "critics of society" as his authorities. Indeed, in most cases where an issue in Hockett's list could not be duplicated in the lists reported here, that issue represented a position too advanced to be found ordinarily in the standard sources. This would suggest that the findings of the

¹ Hockett, J. A. *A Determination of the Major Social Problems of American Life*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 281, 1927.

TABLE VII
DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTBOOK ISSUES
By Form and Author

FORM		CIVICS TEXTBOOKS													TOTAL			
		Ashey	Beard	Boynton	Burch & Patterson	Davis-McClure	Dunn	Forman	Garner	Guittreau	Harman	Haskin	Hill	Hughes	Magruder	Munro	Number	Per Cent
EXERCISES		30	9	16	19	2	7	37	42	35	19	0	36	26	67	0	345	39
Resolutions for Debate		0	0	6	2	24	1	0	0	0	0	0	22	33	0	0	88	10
Should?		7	5	1	0	0	2	7	2	0	1	0	1	10	1	13	50	6
..... is issue		0	1	3	1	2	3	0	2	3	0	1	2	1	0	8	27	3
Pro and con		11	5	5	15	7	3	2	10	11	5	0	12	3	5	4	98	11
Some favor } others oppose }		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	6	1
..... say } think } believe }		3	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	7	0	0	18	2
Some (many) } communities } individuals }		25	22	6	6	5	5	7	3	14	18	0	0	15	3	0	129	14
..... is advocated		10	10	2	10	3	4	4	2	8	3	4	0	4	1	27	92	10
..... is opposed		2	1	6	4	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	0	22	2
A movement to		1	1	6	2	2	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	19	2
A tendency to																		
TOTAL		89	56	51	59	47	29	58	61	75	51	5	77	104	80	52	894	

S T A T E D

I M P L I E D

Form	Government				Practical Politics		Public Finance		Courts & Judiciary		Foreign Relations		Immigration		Criminology		Labor & Capital		Education		Social Welfare		Total	
	Beard	Bryce	Munro	Young	Brooks	Ray	Lutz	Plehn	Baldwin	Bruce	Buell	Gibbons	Fairechild	Jenks Lauck	Parmelee	Sutherland	Callin	Watkins	Cubberley	Bagley Keith	Ellwood	Groves	Number	Per Cent
S	11	0	7	8	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	36	5
T	25	7	14	4	3	3	20	5	0	2	9	3	1	1	1	3	6	3	0	1	6	5	123	15
A	16	4	20	16	17	14	6	8	2	0	4	0	4	1	12	27	5	15	1	2	1	2	177	22
E																								
D																								
I M P L I E D	Some favor	3	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	16	2
	others oppose				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	9	1
	..... say	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	think																							
	believe																							
I M P L I E D	Some (many)	8	3	1	15	2	4	1	0	5	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	8	0	1	2	59	7
	communities																							
	individuals																							
	..... is advocated	46	8	12	39	17	11	6	6	10	11	4	6	7	10	11	10	13	6	8	17	9	277	34
	..... is opposed	5	3	4	8	3	14	1	2	4	3	0	0	0	5	4	11	6	2	0	1	3	72	9
I M P L I E D	A movement to	3	9	2	10	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	38	5
	A tendency to																							
TOTAL		118	37	60	102	45	42	23	19	16	29	8	12	11	32	51	36	43	18	14	27	24	807	

TABLE IX
DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTBOOK ISSUES
BY FORM AND SUBJECT

Form	National Government	State Government	Local Government	Practical Politics	Public Finance	Courts and Judiciary	Foreign Relations	Immigration	Criminology	Labor and Capital	Education	Social Welfare	TOTAL	
													Num-ber	Per Cent
EXERCISES	94	14	33	53	17	24	13	11	16	18	33	19	345	39
STATED	16	0	9	22	2	2	4	1	5	4	13	10	88	10
Should ?	19	0	6	7	3	1	3	1	1	7	1	1	50	6
..... is issue	4	0	2	3	6	1	4	1	2	2	1	1	27	3
Pro and Con	19	2	24	27	7	5	1	1	1	7	0	4	98	11
Some favor } others oppose }	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	6	1
..... say } think } believe }	2	0	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	4	4	1	18	2
Some (many) communities individuals	2	7	19	41	11	13	0	0	12	16	2	6	129	14
..... is advocated	20	1	5	20	7	11	1	4	3	14	3	3	92	10
..... is opposed	7	0	2	1	5	0	1	0	3	3	0	0	22	2
A movement to	0	0	3	9	1	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	19	2
A tendency to														
TOTAL	183	24	105	184	62	60	28	19	45	76	61	47	894	

TABLE X
DISTRIBUTION OF TREATISE ISSUES
BY FORM AND SUBJECT

Form	National Government	State Government	Local Government	Practical Politics	Public Finance	Courts and Judiciary	Foreign Relations	Immigration	Criminology	Labor and Capital	Education	Social Welfare	Total	
													Number	Per Cent
S														
T	15	5	0	4	5	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	36	5
A														
T	18	5	6	15	25	7	10	7	6	17	1	6	123	15
E														
D	18	9	12	38	14	15	4	9	33	21	3	1	177	22
Some favor } others oppose } say { think { believe }														
I	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	7	0	0	16	2
M	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	9	1
P														
L	1	4	1	15	4	14	1	1	4	6	7	1	59	7
I														
E	45	18	10	33	26	33	14	17	17	26	14	24	277	34
D	8	2	1	10	5	12	2	1	11	17	2	1	72	9
..... is advocated														
A movement to														
A tendency to														
TOTAL	112	49	39	125	80	89	33	38	77	98	31	36	807	

TABLE XI

A LIST OF 67 ISSUES FROM HOCKETT'S STUDY, TOGETHER WITH THOSE
ISSUES CORRESPONDING TO EACH OF THEM FOUND IN THE PRESENT STUDY

(Numbers in the "Hockett" column refer to the respective issues as they are numbered in Hockett's study. The notation in the "Lee" column refers to the lists of issues in the present study; the Roman numerals indicate the chapter, and the capital letters the section of each chapter where the issue is to be found, while the Arabic numerals designate the specific issue intended.)

Number	Hockett	Lee	Number	Hockett	Lee	Number	Hockett	Lee
1	2	V A 19, VI A 47	24	77	VE 8, VE 32, VIE 10, VIE 30	47	230	V A 84, V J 24
2	3	V A 28, VI A 25, VI B 31	25	78	V J 20, VI E 42	48	234	V A 87, V A 88
3	8	V C 14, VI A 28, VI C 21	26	83	VI E 27	49	235	V A 84, VI A 16
4	12	V A 40, V B 8, VI B 24	27	85	VE 26, VI A 45, VI B 2	50	237	V A 1, VI A 1
5	14	V A 11, V A 66, VI A 37	28	90	VI E 13	51	244	V A 26, VI A 10
6	15	V A 25	29	92	VI E 41	52	284	VI H 18
7	16	V A 7, VI A 4	30	94	V K 21	53	306	V K 5, VI K 10
8	17	V D 9, VI D 6	31	101	V C 3, VI C 3	54	307	V A 20, V K 1, VI A 65, VI K 9
9	18	V D 25	32	103	V C 2, V C 4, V C 8, VI C 2, VI C 4, VI C 7	55	312	V K 39
10	20	V D 20, VI D 59	33	121	V A 27, VI A 21	56	319	V I 1, VI I 1
11	22a	V D 5, VI D 4	34	143	V F 1, VI F 2, VI F 37	57	320	V I 11, VI I 5
12	23	V F 6, VI F 1	35	152	V J 2, VI J 9, VI L 3	58	328	V L 4
13	24	V F 5, VI F 3	36	155	VI A 62, VI J 10	59	341	V L 13
14	31	V A 48, VI A 8, VI B 18	37	158	V A 1, V C 1, VI A 1, VI C 1	60	348	VI G 27
15	41	VI A 29, VI A 40	38	180	V J 4, VI J 13, VI J 49	61	350	V G 13, V G 14
16	50	V D 29, VI D 26	39	181	V J 8, VI F 13	62	356	VI G 26
17	52	V D 1, VI D 3	40	182	VI J 28, VI J 29	63	369	V G 6, VI G 5
18	54	V D 4, VI D 2	41	183	V J 12, V J 14	64	370	V G 5, VI G 2
19	55	V D 13, VI D 9	42	200	VI J 36	65	371	V G 2, VI G 4
20	59	VI D 28	43	202	VI J 44	66	384	V G 3, VI G 3
21	63	V A 84, V J 26, VI J 6	44	203	V J 9, VI J 11, VI J 51	67	391	V G 1, VI G 1
22	69	V J 5, V J 10, VI J 3	45	204	VI J 12			
23	75	VE 1, VI E 3	46	205	VI J 31			

two studies might profitably be used to supplement each other. An effort was made to compare Hockett's total list of 396 items, including both problems and issues, with the lists presented here. In order to render problems and issues comparable, the comparison was made on the basis of the similarity of the *topics* dealt with in each of the two forms. This procedure resulted in disclosing an agreement of 166, or 42 per cent, of the items in Hockett's list with the issues reported in this study. The extent of this agreement may be judged substantial, especially as the present study gave no consideration at all to problems, while the larger part (74 per cent) of Hockett's list is composed of these.

CHAPTER VIII

FINDINGS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

DATA UPON WHICH THE CONCLUSIONS ARE BASED

The total number of returns to the questionnaire was 559, these representing 56 per cent of the number sent out. (See Table XII). Of the returns approximately 50 were not usable for various reasons: some had been addressed to social science teachers who taught only history, and hence were returned unanswered; others had been filled out in such a way as to make tabulation impossible; several arrived too late to be included in the final results. With these deducted, there remained 508 replies, and on the basis of the data in these the conclusions reached in this chapter are drawn.

TABLE XII

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AND USABLE REPLIES
TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER SENT OUT

State	Number Sent Out	Number Returned	Per Cent Returned	Number Usable	Per Cent Usable
Illinois . . .	307	181	59	160	52
Iowa	223	116	52	107	48
Nebraska . .	46	22	48	21	46
Wisconsin . .	419	240	57	220	53
Total . . .	995	559	56	508	51

ARE IMPORTANT ISSUES RECOGNIZED?

The general tenor of the comments appended to a large number of the replies is such as to indicate that, in the four states surveyed at least, there is a keen realization of the significance of issues in social science courses. A representative statement is that "they vitalize the work." To the direct question "Are

issues as such recognized in your teaching?" the answer was affirmative in one hundred per cent of the cases. It is admitted that, very likely, many of those addressed were predisposed to an affirmative reply by the phrasing of the letter accompanying the questionnaire, but even so, the unanimity of the response argues beyond question the fact that among this group of social science teachers the importance of issues requires no demonstration.

In order to obtain some estimate of the extent to which major issues are recognized, a checking list containing twenty issues was included in the questionnaire. These represented those issues which were found, as a result of the analysis of fifteen civics textbooks, to be mentioned as issues in the largest number of these books. Since the texts from which these issues were selected are typical of those generally employed in high schools, it is reasonable to assume that almost all, or all, of the issues have at one time or another come to the attention of social science teachers and their pupils. Were they recognized as issues and brought up for discussion in any way in their classes? The data of Table XIII show that in the four states taken together the teachers checked as having come up for discussion an average of 12.7 of the twenty issues, or 63 per cent. While this no doubt

TABLE XIII

THE AVERAGE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
(OUT OF 20 IN CHECKLIST) RECOGNIZED BY 508 TEACHERS

	Illinois	Iowa	Nebraska	Wisconsin	Average for Four States
Average Number of Issues Recognized	13.2	12.1	13.9	11.6	12.7
Per Cent of Issues Recognized	66	60	69	58	63

represents a significant proportion, yet it must be remembered that these issues are those ranking highest in frequency of mention among the textbooks analyzed, and hence a comparatively high degree of recognition is to be expected. In addition is the

fact that fully 60 per cent of the 508 teachers reported as being used in their courses textbooks which are on the very list from which the twenty issues were taken (Table XIV). That the percentage of recognition is no greater than it proved to be, there-

TABLE XIV

SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS REPORTED BY TEN OR MORE TEACHERS
AS BEING USED IN COURSES THEY ARE TEACHING

Textbook	No. (Out of 508 Teachers) Reporting	Per Cent
Magruder: <i>American Government</i> *	117	23
Hill: <i>Community Life and Civic Problems</i> *	96	19
Hughes: <i>Community Civics</i> *	60	12
Towne: <i>Social Problems</i>	49	10
Thompson: <i>Elementary Economics</i>	46	9
Hughes: <i>Textbook in Citizenship</i>	33	7
Fairchild: <i>Essentials of Economics</i>	27	5
Hughes: <i>Problems of American Democracy</i>	24	5
Williamson: <i>Introduction to Economics</i>	24	5
Harman et al.: <i>American Citizenship Practice</i> *	19	4
Ellwood: <i>Sociology and Modern Social Problems</i>	16	3
Ely and Wicker: <i>Elementary Principles of Economics</i>	16	3
Burch: <i>American Economic Life</i>	15	3
Burch and Patterson: <i>American Social Problems</i>	14	3
Carver: <i>Elementary Economics</i>	14	3
Williamson: <i>Problems in American Democracy</i>	13	3
Forman: <i>The American Democracy</i> *	12	2
Morehouse-Graham: <i>American Problems</i>	12	2
Hughes: <i>Economic Civics</i>	10	2

* Indicates titles appearing in the list (Table I) of textbooks analyzed for issues in this study. Hughes' *Elementary Community Civics* was used instead of his *Community Civics*.

fore, is somewhat disappointing. Especially is this so when consideration is given to the fact that perhaps a majority of the teachers checked the issues on the basis, not of one course, but of several courses; these totaling in some instances as many as a half dozen. Moreover, in all probability many teachers checked items on the list which had been taken up in their classes as *topics*, but had not been recognized or treated as *issues*. That this is true in some cases, the replies clearly disclose.

It may be objected that since the checklist contains a sub-

stantial number of government issues, those teachers reporting on sociology or economics courses would find but few issues in their field which they could check. Table XV, however, shows that the large majority of those teachers who reported on sociology or economics, or both, also reported on civics or some similar course wherein government problems have a large place. Indeed, to be more specific, a careful inspection of the data reveals the fact that in only 73 cases, or 14 per cent of the total, is the checking of issues based solely on sociology, economics, or social problems (courses in which government questions have little or no part). In view of this, these 73 cases in which the checking was based on a limited field are easily offset by the many cases in which teachers did their checking on the basis of more than one subject.

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES
BY TITLE IN THE FOUR STATES SURVEYED

State	Civics	Citizen- ship	Social Science	Current Prob- lems	Social Prob- lems	Soci- ology	Eco- nomics	Amer- ican Govern- ment	Total
Illinois	139	10	7	13	8	7	86	2	272
Iowa	71	18	5	4	20	29	48	2	197
Nebraska ..	20	3	1	2	3	2	2	0	33
Wisconsin ..	59	123	24	12	87	14	98	0	417
Total	289	154	37	31	118	52	234	4	919

A more detailed scrutiny of the proportion of teachers checking the individual issues will be revealing. An examination of Table XVI readily shows that certain issues are much more commonly taken up than others in social science classes. Issues 3 and 16, to select an illustration, are given but a modicum of recognition. The explanation probably lies in the fact that they are not of such universal interest as other issues—such as, for example, issues 12 and 14 on capital punishment and immigration, respectively. Another factor may be that they are deemed rather too technical for profitable consideration in the high school

TABLE
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF
CHECKING EACH OF THE

ISSUE	ILLINOIS	
	Of Total of 160, Checked by—	Per Cent of Total
1. Should there be government ownership of telegraphs and railroads?	134	84
2. Should public utilities be owned and operated by the city?	142	89
3. Should home rule be granted to cities and counties in the United States?	86	54
4. Should the initiative and referendum be adopted as means of direct legislation?	121	76
5. Should the direct primary method of nomination be used in all general elections?	99	62
6. Should there be an educational qualification for voting?	127	79
7. Should the short ballot be adopted for general elections?	115	72
8. Should the United States adopt a policy of free trade?	101	63
9. Should the commission form of government for cities be approved?	121	76
10. Should members of the President's Cabinet have seats in Congress?	62	39
11. Should independence be granted to the Philippine Islands?	121	76
12. Should capital punishment be abolished?	103	64
13. Should a federal department of education be created with a secretary in the Cabinet?	103	64
14. Should immigration into the United States be further restricted?	130	81
15. Should the presidential term be lengthened with no privilege of reelection?	87	54
16. Should presidential candidates be nominated by presidential preference primaries?	58	36
17. Should judges be selected by popular vote?	89	56
18. Should there be a property qualification for voting?	99	62
19. Should elective officials be subject to recall by the voters before their terms have expired?	105	66
20. Should a newly elected Congress be required to assemble sooner after the election than at present?	110	69

XVI

TEACHERS IN EACH STATE

ISSUES IN CHECKLIST

IOWA		NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		AVERAGE PER CENT FOUR STATES
Of Total of 107, Checked by—	Per Cent of Total	Of Total of 21, Checked by—	Per Cent of Total	Of Total of 220, Checked by—	Per Cent of Total	
93	88	19	90	184	84	86
92	86	17	81	176	80	84
20	19	7	33	58	26	33
81	76	20	95	150	68	79
60	56	15	71	120	55	61
93	88	17	81	165	75	81
55	51	17	81	115	52	64
73	68	10	48	139	63	60
69	64	15	71	135	61	68
44	41	9	43	92	41	41
83	78	18	86	146	66	76
80	75	18	86	163	74	75
73	68	20	95	134	60	72
93	88	19	90	196	89	87
53	50	9	43	93	42	47
19	18	6	29	55	25	27
40	37	10	48	93	42	46
67	63	16	76	117	53	63
54	50	17	81	127	58	64
58	54	13	61	107	49	58

(Table XVII). The implication is fairly clear, at any rate, that issues need to be more discriminatingly chosen if they are to command a larger share of attention on the secondary school level.

In answer to the question as to whether important social issues are recognized, then, it may be said that while at first glance the average recognition of 12.7 out of the twenty issues on our check-

TABLE XVII
DISTRIBUTION OF 830 SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES
BY STATES AND BY GRADES IN WHICH THEY ARE OFFERED

STATE		GRADE						
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Illinois		0	4	5	34	30	62	115
Iowa		3	6	11	24	18	48	72
Nebraska		0	0	0	9	2	8	15
Wisconsin		0	8	20	77	97	51	111
Total	Number	3	18	36	144	147	169	313
	Per Cent	1	2	4	17	18	20	38

list seems to represent a relatively high proportion, a more careful consideration of the factors affecting this average leads to the conclusion that issues, as such, need to be brought more explicitly and systematically to the attention of social science teachers and pupils in the high schools.

WHAT ARE THE SOURCES OF ISSUES?

Preliminary to the discussion of how issues are handled in social science classes it would be well to consider from what sources issues taken up in these courses are drawn. Table XVIII summarizes the data available on this problem. The figures are necessarily indecisive, for the information sought was of such a nature as to make only very rough estimates possible. The averages for the four states, however, may be taken as pointing out certain more or less definite trends. The low standing of the pupil as the initiator of issues is understandable. Framing an issue presumes a background and a command of relevant facts

as a basis; it is more than the proposal of a mere question. This is not to imply that the initiation of issues is beyond the average pupil, but rather to hazard the opinion that probably he should not be too largely depended upon to raise them without supplementary suggestion and assistance. Classroom discussion stands out as the most fruitful source of issues, according to our table. Does this mean that the issues come from the instructor, or from the pupils, or are simply projected out of the discussion, source indefinite? Perhaps the question embodying this point in the questionnaire was ill-considered. At any rate it leaves uncertain

TABLE XVIII

AVERAGE OF 508 REPLIES BY STATES
INDICATING (ON A FOUR POINT SCALE: 0 = NEVER,
1 = SOMETIMES, 2 = LARGELY, 3 = ALWAYS) THE DEGREE
TO WHICH ISSUES ARE DRAWN FROM FOUR GIVEN SOURCES

Source of Issues Discussed	Illinois	Iowa	Nebraska	Wisconsin	Average of Four States
Drawn from Textbook	1.42	1.30	1.05	1.39	1.29
Suggested by Instructor . . .	1.39	1.42	1.25	1.43	1.37
Brought Forward by Pupils	1.10	1.14	1.15	1.21	1.15
Developed Out of Class Discussion	1.46	1.46	1.43	1.45	1.45

the authors of the issues which grow out of class discussion. Of course, teacher or pupil may, during the course of a discussion, bring out an issue originally met with in the text. Likewise, the sundry suggestions thrown out by different individuals during a discussion may by accretion and development fructify in the form of a relevant issue or two. Or perhaps the truth is that the term "discussion" in this item proved so intriguing that it attracted a higher rating than was its due. Whatever the case, we have the testimony of more than five hundred social science teachers that it is out of the free mental exchanges of the class forum that issues most frequently reveal themselves. The teacher and the textbooks, needless to say, play important rôles in bringing issues to the attention of pupils. They are the most certain and dependable sources of issues. Texts rank low at present,

according to our table, but as they come to deal more specifically and systematically with issues they will gain in importance. Live issues are abundant in the fertile soil of current periodical literature. The teacher himself, or indirectly through his pupils, can very profitably probe this source for what it will produce. In summary it may be observed that the sources of issues are as yet uncertain largely because the issue *as an issue* has not gained an established place as a unit in the mass of social science materials. When it shall have won some such recognition as the problem has received in recent years, its greater prominence will render its sources more easily determinable.

HOW ARE ISSUES HANDLED IN SOCIAL SCIENCE CLASSES?

The results produced by this section of the questionnaire are highly interesting. They are characterized by a wide divergence of opinion which is indicative of the unsettled state of the problem. It should be mentioned that the questions under this heading reaped a small harvest of objections from those reporting. Many protested that most of the items could not be answered definitely either in the affirmative or in the negative; practice differs at different times, they said. Since more than ninety per cent of the teachers who replied finally did make up their minds sufficiently to answer "yes" or "no" to the several questions, it may be assumed that they based their decisions on their most usual practice in each case. This was what was desired.

Is the attitude of the author of the text used generally the one accepted and taught? Opinion was evenly divided on this question, as may readily be seen by referring to Table XIX. "Yes" was reported by 45 per cent; "no," by 46 per cent. The tendency on the part of perhaps most pupils, of course, is to accept the author's judgment as authoritative. The mere fact that that opinion is in print gives it a prestige that is undeniable to many of high school age. Nor is the teacher himself always immune from this proneness to worship of the printed word. In the cases of those whose major study has not been in social science, lack of preparation makes the text almost a necessary reliance. But, after all, much depends on the book. If it is a judiciously chosen one, regardless of whether the author's view is accepted *because* it is his view, the discussions of teacher and pupils will usually result in agreement with that view. Needless to say, the judg-

TABLE XIX
DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES OF 508 TEACHERS IN FOUR STATES
CONCERNING CERTAIN GIVEN METHODS OF HANDLING ISSUES

	Text View Accepted?			Teacher's View Taught?			Discussion Pro and Con?			Decision Aimed At?			View of Community Taught?			Controversial Issues Avoided?			Restrictions Imposed?		
	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply
Illinois	73	71	16	88	48	24	159	0	1	81	67	12	32	101	27	79	77	4	15	137	8
Iowa	54	42	11	64	37	6	106	1	0	61	34	12	25	69	13	44	60	3	4	95	8
Nebraska	8	11	2	13	6	2	21	0	0	15	5	1	5	12	4	10	10	1	2	18	1
Wisconsin	92	109	19	104	90	26	211	6	3	116	78	26	41	143	36	109	104	7	17	196	7
Num- ber	227	233	48	269	181	58	497	7	4	273	184	51	103	325	80	242	251	15	38	446	24
Per Cent	45	46	9	53	36	11	98	1	1	54	36	10	20	64	16	48	49	3	7	88	5
TOTAL																					

ment of the author of one's textbook should not be accepted simply and solely because it is the author's. Nor should any decision as to the desirable position to take on an issue be "taught."¹ But it must be remembered that examples are innumerable of teachers trained in home economics assigned to teach half a dozen subjects one of which may be civics, and instance after instance may be found of schools where library facilities are lacking and reference materials are all but absent. Under such conditions, certainly it is the natural procedure, and perhaps it is also the advisable one, to adopt the views of the textbook author at least on the more technical issues. The 45 per cent of our 508 teachers who affirmed that this is their general practice probably reflect in large measure just this condition of affairs.

Does the instructor usually teach that attitude on each issue which, in his judgment, seems correct? Table XIX shows that the replies were: "yes," 53 per cent; "no," 36 per cent. The consensus of those who augmented their replies on this point is that while they try to avoid permitting their own views to bias their presentation of issues, nevertheless they feel that usually a bias is unconsciously revealed. Some teachers proceed differently on different issues. One said, "On some issues the teacher speaks out openly for one position, and insists that that is the correct one and that no other can be accepted." Another declared that this was her practice in connection with "questions involving patriotism." Many of those represented by the 36 per cent who answered negatively would no doubt subscribe to the succinct statement of one of their number who wrote: "Questions of fact are settled by the teacher; questions of opinion, never." Another counseled: "Show that the teacher is, after all, only an ordinary human being and liable to err. Hence, independent decisions rather than dependence on the judgment of the teacher are desirable." And finally, in the words of still another, "A teacher employed by the public and paid out of public funds has no right to teach her private opinions in the classroom."

¹ It is realized that the use of the expression "teach an attitude" in several places in this study is at best a highly questionable procedure. It was first employed in the questionnaire (reproduced in Chapter IV) to describe the situation where a teacher feels so strongly that a given position on an issue is the correct one that he all but insists that his pupils adopt that position as their own. To have characterized this as an attempt "to impose an attitude" would have introduced a word with an undesirable connotation which might have prejudiced the replies to the questions asked. "Present an attitude" was too mild to describe the situation accurately. Finally, for want of a better expression "teach an attitude" was adopted, undesirable as it no doubt is.

Regardless of whether or not they have the right to, our facts show that of 508 teachers 53 per cent do teach what they construe to be the correct opinion, while 36 per cent do not.

Are issues freely discussed pro and con, the arguments on either side being clearly presented? Manifestly this is a desideratum in dealing with issues in the classroom. That it is so recognized is evidenced by the almost unanimously (98 per cent) affirmative reply to the question. Those who have fought the battle for indoctrination have fought well, and lost. It is not a concept tolerable in the educational philosophy of a democratic society. Contrariwise, it is independent judgment that must be championed and defended, and a prerequisite for this is the full possession of all available facts pertinent to each situation.

Is some decision on one side or the other of each issue aimed at? On this question practice is again divided. Fifty-four per cent of the teachers do aim at some decision; 36 per cent do not. The affirmative view emphasizes the fact that the purpose of the discussion of issues is to enable and encourage each pupil to arrive at a conclusion which he can support by sound evidence. On the other hand, several of those who replied in the negative maintain that the responsibility of solving issues belongs to posterity; that assuredly immature high school pupils cannot be expected to decide issues which even our own generation has not solved. It would appear that the use of the word "solve" has proved confusing in the latter instance. The purpose in taking up issues in the classroom is, of course, not to solve them in the sense that they will be settled once and for all, but rather to bring out, through impartial discussion, all the available facts concerning each issue to the end that the pupil may be able to take an intelligent stand on it. One may ask indeed, to what end discussion if not to a decision, however tentative it may be? Pupils are likely to be of immature judgment, of course; but judgments tentatively formed may be changed whenever facts warrant. Someone has said with as much truth as wit that "An open mind is all right as long as it is not open at both ends." The open-mindedness which discusses both sides of an issue impartially without either seeking or desiring a decision (subject of course to change on presentation of adequate evidence) is in truth a questionable sort of open-mindedness.

Does the instructor teach the attitude reflected in the com-

munity? Twenty per cent reply that they do; 64 per cent that they do not; 16 per cent make no reply. The considerable proportion of those who did not check this question is probably largely due to the fact that many were new teachers from other localities who were ignorant of community attitudes on various issues. There is a *community* attitude, it should be said, on relatively few issues. Moreover, the larger the community is, the less is the likelihood of a unified opinion on any public question. Most of the affirmative replies, no doubt, came from teachers in rural and small urban communities.

Are controversial issues avoided? Forty-eight per cent say "yes"; 49 per cent say "no". This evidence would indicate that there is much to be said on both sides of the question. As a general principle it will probably be granted that controversial issues ought not to be eschewed simply because they are controversial. But the matter is not so much one of principle as of expediency. Other considerations must decide. The conditions and the temper of the community constitute an important factor. The tact of the teacher is another. In some communities and with some teachers controversial issues may be handled with safety; in other communities and with other teachers to do so would be to stir up a veritable hornet's nest. It is patent that no rule-of-thumb decision can be laid down. As the colloquialism runs, "it all depends."

Are restrictions on the full and free discussion of certain issues imposed by the school authorities? The answer is "no" from 88 per cent of the teachers replying. This is probably descriptive of the general state of affairs. That there is some censorship exercised in many cases on classroom discussion, however, cannot be gainsaid. The usual restriction is not explicitly stated perhaps. But it is a genuine and effective restriction, nevertheless, which can draw forth from a teacher the dire prediction that "to teach the truth would bring discredit, unemployment, and probably burning at the stake."

ARE THE EXERCISES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTS USED?

It has been made clear in a previous chapter that the need for a consideration of this question arose from the fact that a large proportion of the issues appearing in civics textbooks occur in the exercises provided in those books. Unless these exercises

TABLE XX
DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES OF 506 TEACHERS IN FOUR STATES CONCERNING THEIR USE OF THE
EXERCISES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTS

	ILLINOIS			IOWA			NEBRASKA			WISCONSIN			ALL FOUR STATES		
	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply	Yes	No	No Reply
Do you make use of the exercises in your text?	152	6	2	98	4	3	20	0	1	210	6	4	480	16	10
Number															
Per Cent	95	4	1	93	4	3	95	0	5	95	3	2	94	3	3
Regularly?	61	86	13	37	58	10	6	13	2	77	120	23	181	277	48
Number															
Per Cent	38	54	8	35	55	10	28	62	10	35	55	10	34	57	9
By discussion in class?	137	9	14	90	4	11	20	0	1	184	8	28	431	21	54
Number															
Per Cent	85	6	9	86	4	10	95	0	5	84	4	12	88	3	9
By referring pupils to them for aid in preparing lessons?	112	21	27	72	20	13	12	3	6	169	21	30	365	65	76
Number															
Per Cent	70	13	17	69	19	12	57	14	29	77	9	14	68	14	18
By assigning reports to be made on topics in exercises?	123	17	20	86	9	10	17	1	3	176	15	29	402	42	62
Number															
Per Cent	77	11	12	82	8	10	81	5	14	80	7	13	80	8	12
By holding each pupil responsible for certain topics?	74	53	33	50	36	19	9	5	7	111	68	41	244	162	100
Number															
Per Cent	46	33	21	48	34	18	43	24	33	50	31	19	47	30	23

are utilized, the issues in them will be lost. Table XX assures us convincingly that high school social science teachers in the four states surveyed do make use of the exercises in their textbooks. But to what extent do they make use of these exercises? Thirty-four per cent do so regularly; while 57 per cent but irregularly. These figures, supplemented by additional information contained in the replies, carry two implications. First, the implication is clear that if the exercises in texts are used by the majority of teachers only occasionally, to give issues the weight they deserve they must be treated more explicitly and systematically in the body of these texts. This point is dealt with at some length in the succeeding chapter. The second apparent implication is that to make their textbooks helpful and usable in greater measure to teachers and pupils alike authors will need to devote a larger share of attention hereafter to the better preparation of the exercises in them. From the point of view of this study, this means larger provision of issues, greater discrimination in their selection, and more explicit presentation of issues *as issues*. Table XX indicates a wide use of exercise materials for class discussions and individual reports. Debates also are declared by many to be particularly valuable in dealing with issues. They stimulate interest and preparation, and are often superior to the occasionally desultory discussions of the classroom. All this suggests that a variety of live issues suitable for these purposes would be desirable. Sixty-eight per cent of those teachers who replied to the questionnaire signified that they referred their pupils to the exercises for aid in preparing their lessons. This reveals a new line of attack for the author. Can he not so correlate his treatment of issues in the body and in the exercises of his text that one will supplement the other and lead to clearer recognition of significant issues and closer familiarity with the facts relevant to them? According to one teacher, "Issues give vitality to the course which it is almost impossible to develop in other ways. When the class discovers an issue for the class discussion, I know that that particular assignment will be covered completely and without fatigue." Is there not a suggestion here which the textbook writer may utilize to the advantage of all concerned?

CHAPTER IX

SOME SUGGESTIONS AND APPLICATIONS

ISSUES AND OPEN-MINDEDNESS

Open-mindedness is a watchword of the present order. Coupled with a wholesome tendency to reflection and deliberation as preliminaries to judgment it forms that scientific attitude which, broadly conceived, may be characterized as the ideal of education. In direct contrast is that almost universal habit of drawing impulsive and ill-founded conclusions which is so often decried by educationists. The need for an education of tolerance, for the ability to deal impartially and fair-mindedly with the manifold issues that life presents, requires no demonstration. It is obvious and urgent. The duty of the school is clear. The method, however, remains in the realm of the unknown and challenges serious thought and study.

An issue is a forked road situation. Life is replete with such situations. Many times during an active day is one confronted by them. At the parting of the ways further progress waits upon a decision. Shall the choice be by habit, impulse, fallacious reasoning? Or shall that road be taken which a deliberate weighing of the facts at hand indicates as correct? It is believed that there is a place in the high school for such a consideration of issues as will encourage and foster the habit of reasoned and unbiased judgment. In a situation where the search is for the truth, where all the available data are marshaled and duly studied, where no preconceived views are imposed and each individual is urged toward a carefully deliberated conclusion of his own—this is truly to be in the atmosphere of the scientific spirit. The view is submitted here that current issues can profitably be treated in this spirit in the classroom. The introduction of live issues lends vitality to the work of the school; it helps to develop intelligent opinions among pupils on the issues that perplex the society in which they live. In the words of Bertrand Russell:

If I were at the head of a school for older boys and girls, I should consider it equally undesirable to shirk current questions and to do propaganda about them. It is a good thing to make pupils feel that their education is fitting them to cope with matters about which the world is excited; it gives them a sense that scholastic teaching is not divorced from the practical world.¹

THE SELECTION OF ISSUES

The desirability of taking up social issues in the work of the high school being assumed, the problem of what issues to select arises. The lists of issues presented in this study were compiled as a contribution toward an answer to this question. The problem involved is one of relative values, of course. It cannot be said absolutely that one issue should be chosen for study while another should not. Likewise what may be adapted to the requirements of one situation may be entirely unsuited to the needs of another. It would consequently be folly to present a list of issues and insist dogmatically that it be accepted *in toto*. The writer's undertaking has been merely to make the preliminary selection in order that the task of those who use issues and must make the final selection may be brought to more manageable proportions. The two lists of issues—from the civics textbooks and the authoritative treatises—are the result of this preliminary step.

In all there are 803 different issues. These remain after the elimination of duplications from a gross total of 1701. The amount of this duplication is in some degree a measure of the validity of the issues. They represent the composite judgment of a goodly number of specialists. The more insistent social issues of contemporary life are probably in large part represented in the lists. But from which list—the text or the treatise—should the prospective user choose his issues? The treatise list represents the opinion of authorities in ten special fields. It very likely contains the more significant issues in these fields. The two lists, however, may very wisely be used conjointly. The text list, representing the high school viewpoint, doubtless will prove suggestive in aiding the final selection. It perhaps will not be deemed superfluous to remark, however, that other criteria must be used to guide the choice of issues. The age and grade of the pupils, the type of community, and the special interests

¹ *Education and the Good Life*, p. 284.

of the group are among the factors that should be considered. Issues, like any other material, are of course not to be forced upon pupils as so much subject matter to be covered. They enter most fruitfully into the work just at that point when they will most relevantly stimulate and focus the discussions on a given topic. The following is an apposite quotation from a teacher as to a real danger to be guarded against: "I find that pupils read and assimilate materials on these issues so that they seemingly know a great deal on the various subjects, but yet they do not form opinions by themselves. They are apt to regard such issues in the same light as geometry or algebra problems—mental exercises but remote from their own lives."

THE TEXTBOOK TREATMENT OF ISSUES

Conditions in American high schools being as they are, indubitably the most promising method for effecting a widespread change in curriculum content is via the textbook. If the proposal to give issues, as such, a greatly increased importance in social science courses is to be realized, the coöperation of textbook writers is indispensable. This coöperation can best express itself by steps to bring about the three reforms as regards issues in social science texts that are suggested here.

First, the presentation of issues in these texts needs to be more *explicit*. Our investigation has shown that but a small proportion of the issues in present texts are frankly faced. If significant issues are to be recognized and given the attention which is their due, it is clear that they must be more explicitly stated in textbooks. This involves a form of presentation of issues which is unequivocal and unmistakable. Without question the most satisfactory form is directly to state the issue *as an issue*, and then to present the available facts pro and con concerning it. If the author desires further to express an individual viewpoint, this may be added last to conclude the discussion. The *sine qua non* for the explicit presentation of an issue, however, is that it be clearly stated and that the merits and demerits of both sides be impartially advanced. Present texts are most faulty in the matter of issues because of their neglect of these two essentials. Indeed many teachers have said that for lack of pro and con discussions of issues in their texts they are often compelled to resort to the impartial discussions in the *Literary*

Digest. With the minimum prescription that we have set filled, the author may be left to his own devices. If he feels strongly that one side of a particular issue is undeniably the correct one, to say so is his privilege. It may well be that the most effective presentation is the one which stops with the pro and con discussion, but there is no objective evidence to this effect. On the other hand, possibly it is desirable that the informed and enlightened opinion of the author be expressed, especially if the issue in question is a technical one, in order that the reader may have the advantage of an authoritative judgment to guide him in reaching a decision. This point is an unsettled one, to be sure; no one knows what the better practice is. Suffice it to say that it would appear fatuous to attempt to suppress the personal view of the author if he feels moved to give it expression.

The second reform suggested is that the presentation of issues in textbooks be made more *systematic*. This presupposes a definite plan for the incorporation of issues at appropriate points in the text. It assumes a previous determination of the specific issues to be included. In other words, the treatment of issues is not to be left to the workings of chance during the composition of the text, but is to be provided for in detail beforehand. Only in this way can the proper balance between issues and other materials in the text be preserved. Too many issues are as undesirable as too few. It is the author's responsibility, as we see it, to provide in his text issues in such forms and in such proportions as will insure their getting a due share of attention. This likewise is the task of the maker of courses of study in the social sciences.

A third suggestion is that issues in social science textbooks be more discriminatingly chosen. The comparison of the issues from the two sources utilized tended to indicate that a substantial number of issues included in texts are of little significance. Many were so manifestly inconsequential that they have not been listed in this study. An imposing array of obviously artificial issues was found and discarded. Consultation of such an inventory of issues as the treatise list in Chapter VI, it is believed, would provide worthwhile issues for inclusion in social science texts. Selections from this source would serve to eliminate some of the waste now incurred by the presentation and discussion of petty issues.

ISSUES AND ATTITUDES

A study of issues may legitimately bring up for discussion the problem of attitudes for the reason that a position taken on either side of an issue may be said to be an attitude on that issue. The thought is tempting to contemplate that possibly the sort of consideration of social issues that has been proposed here for the high school—the systematic study of live issues in an impartial, scientific spirit—may eventuate in the formation of desirable social attitudes which will favorably condition conduct. Such a prospect, it is realized, must await the results of more conclusive objective experimentation for justification. For the present, let us examine several recent studies for data.

There is no school or school system but proclaims the development of desirable attitudes as one of its primary goals. How this can be achieved is a mooted point, however, for data concerning the origin of attitudes still lie largely in the realm of unsubstantiated opinion. The usual mode of attack on the problem is the informational; it is the traditional method of the schoolroom and easiest of application. But what part does information play in conditioning attitudes? The scanty experimental evidence available is conflicting. Symonds' study² shows a positive correlation of only .28 between information and liberalism as measured by his social attitudes questionnaire. Students from Grade VIII in the Honolulu public schools to the University who answered the questionnaire exhibited a practically constant mean of 80 in each grade. The customary rise in means from grade to grade was obtained from an information test paralleling in content the questionnaire. The implication is apparent here that information is a negligible factor in shaping attitudes. In substantiation of this result there is the experiment reported by Jones, who after having had 418 college students mark a list of 25 statements of common social issues, wrote:

The most significant general educational implication is the slight effect that a college training has had on the real opinions of our students who are now seniors in the Arts and Science college. There is almost as large a proportion in the senior class who are conservative or reactionary in their responses as in the freshman class.³

² Symonds, P. M. "A Social Attitudes Questionnaire." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 16, pp. 316-22, March 1925.

³ Jones, E. S. "The Opinion of College Students." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 10, pp. 427-36, 1926.

Results contradictory to the findings of these two studies are produced in the work of Sturges mentioned in summary in an article by Watson.⁴ The former found that information had a large place in determining the attitudes he studied. His method was to give a test-ballot showing attitudes ranging from pacifism to militarism. Subsequent to taking the test, the subjects were asked to read from a book dealing with war. After seven minutes they were tested a second time. Then followed seven more minutes of reading, when a third testing was made. The subjects were found to be directly influenced by what they read in the modified attitudes that they manifested at each successive testing. Harper's findings⁵ bear in the same general direction. He constructed a scale of social beliefs and attitudes involving 71 propositions of current debate which were to be marked plus or minus according as the subject agreed or disagreed with each one. This was employed to measure the degree of conservatism or non-conservatism of several thousand American educators. Calculations based on 200 cases showed a positive correlation of .52 between extent of education and non-conservatism.

What then should be our conclusion regarding the rôle of information in determining attitudes? In view of the irreconcilable evidence so far presented, it is clear that judgment must be suspended until additional facts become available. "The question of the kind of information has been insufficiently studied. It is leaping a little, but perhaps not too far, in advance of the evidence to suggest that probably the quantity of information is far less significant than would be the proportionate emphasis within that information, and the circumstances under which it was given."⁶ Does not the advocacy in this study of a larger place for the impartial and dispassionate discussion of social issues accord almost perfectly with this suggestion?

What data are there to demonstrate the effectiveness of the impartial discussion of issues in modifying attitudes on social questions? Harper's study also offers some evidence on this question. Harper employed his scale of social beliefs and attitudes in measuring the liberalness of 196 educators in a university school of education. These educators were tested at the

⁴ Watson, G. B. "Does World-Mindedness Depend Upon Good-Will or Information? Upon Character or Intelligence?" *Religious Education*, Vol. 21, pp. 188-94.

⁵ Harper, M. H. *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 294, 1927.

⁶ Watson, G. B. *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

opening of the academic year and found to be outstanding non-conservative, achieving a median score of 53.6. Every one of the 196 then entered upon the work of two elective courses dealing with educational and social problems, one for each half year. On the completion of these courses a retest revealed the median score of 68 for the group, a gain of 14.4. No other group in the student body reached at any time a median score above that of this group made at the *beginning* of the year. The gain of 14.4 was approximately four times the extent of the median gain in scores found to accompany an extension of one year, or thirty semester hours, in usual graduate instruction. The difference, presumably, was due to the content and method of the two courses elected by the 196 subjects. But we are informed that the problems in the scale were very different in surface features from the problems considered in the courses. Regarding the method, this statement is offered: "In the conduct of the courses, effort seemed always directed to the stimulation of clear and well-rounded thinking rather than directed to the urging or even suggesting of any particular conclusion."⁷ Harper concludes from this that *critical thinking on vital problems* tends toward non-conservatism, and advocates curriculum changes to embrace these two features. This is almost an exact statement of what has been proposed in the present study.

Watson's⁸ is another study shedding light on the same problem. At a Y. W. C. A. student conference those in attendance were divided into two chance groups of equal size and given Forms A, B, and C and Forms D, E, and F, respectively, of Watson's "Test of Public Opinion." At the end of the conference the two groups were given Forms D, E, and F and Forms, A, B, and C, respectively, of the same test. "Essentially the method [of the conference] involved an endeavor to recognize the worth in points of view which differed from those which had been brought into the conference, so that after a free give-and-take of discussion and an utterly good-natured sharing of information and ideals each person might leave the conference with more of truth than he brought to it."⁹ A comparison of the results of the two testings indicates that during the conference there

⁷ Harper, M. H. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁸ Watson, G. B. *The Measurement of Fair-Mindedness*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 176, 1925.

⁹ Watson, G. B. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

was an actual *reduction* of the amount of prejudice. "In gross score, the groups taking Forms A, B, and C averaged 36 per cent at the beginning of the conference, and 30 per cent at the close. The groups taking Forms D, E, and F registered 26 per cent of the chances to show a prejudice at the beginning of the conference, but only 23 per cent at the close of the conference."¹⁰ "Moreover, the reduction was apt to be greatest in those lines most discussed by the students, while on items which did not come into the conference there was little or no change."¹¹

In addition, Watson furnishes evidence of the fact that "In the study of race relations, the result of more enlightenment, study, and discussion was clearly to *decrease* the prejudice of the members of the class."¹² The course was one in Christianity and the Race Problem. Both at the beginning and at the end of the semester the class was given a test especially adapted for the purpose. Form F of Watson's "Test of Public Opinion" was used as a model, and generalizations about race relations were formulated and included in the test. On the first testing the class on the average took 31.3 per cent of the chances to register an "extreme" or "prejudiced" statement. At the end of the course, the average took only 21.5 per cent of the chances to register prejudice.

The studies referred to imply clearly that illiberal and prejudiced attitudes are in fact synonymous with biased and ill-founded opinions. The willingness and ability to face facts squarely and deal with them impartially are all too rare. Indeed Bogardus, in an experiment with university students of social psychology concerning their feelings toward racial groups, found that

In the case of nearly every one of the 119 persons who placed the Turks at the head of their antipathy columns tradition and accepted opinion were the main, if not the only factor operating. This second-hand evidence came chiefly from one's elders, parents, preachers, returned missionaries telling of massacres of Armenians by the Turks, newspaper articles of a similar character, motion pictures showing Turks as "villains", and from Armenian eye-witnesses of Turkish cruelties. Many of the 119 persons said that they had never seen a Turk, much less did they know even one.¹³

¹⁰ Watson, G. B. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

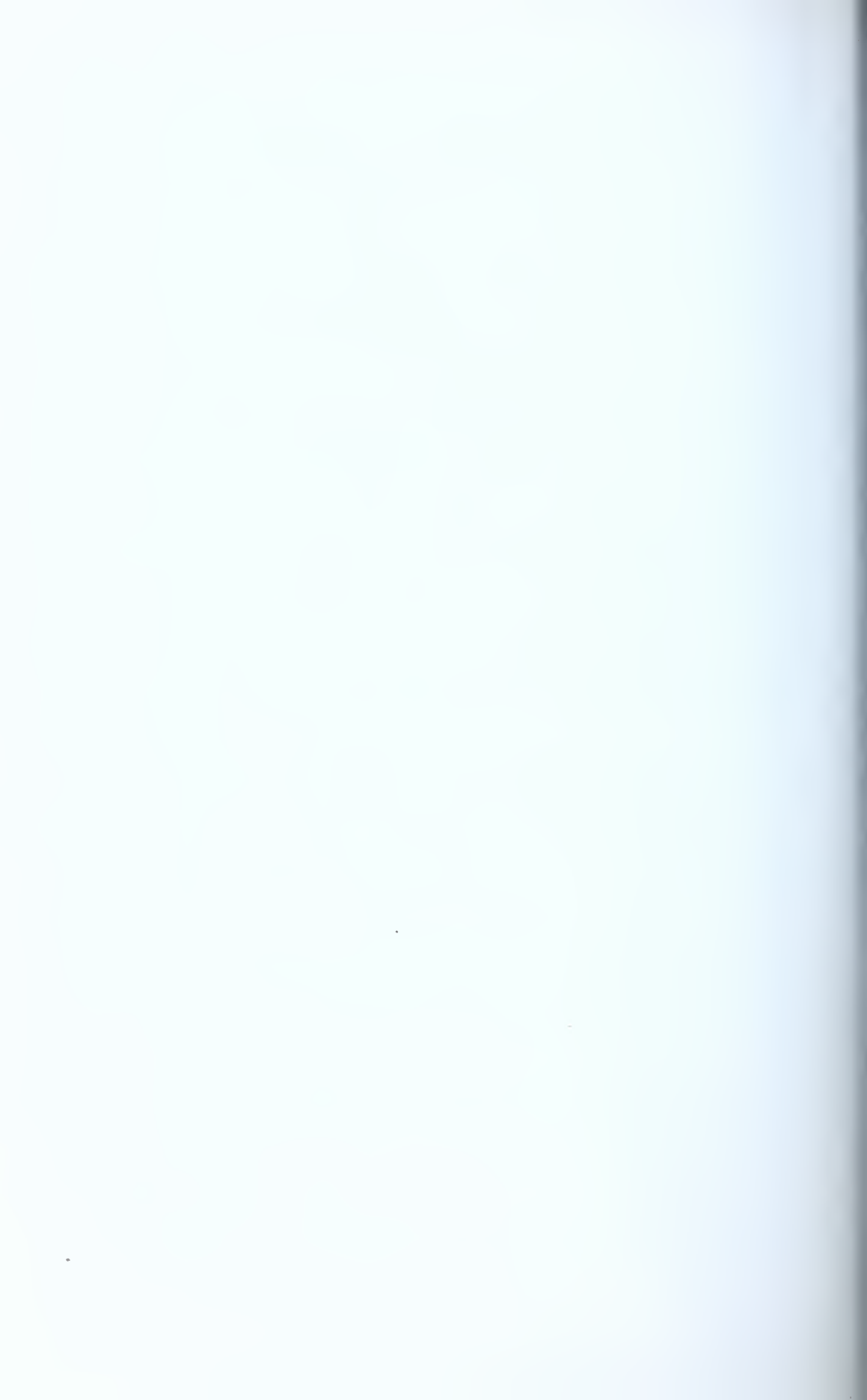
¹¹ Watson, G. B. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹² Watson, G. B. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹³ Bogardus, E. S. "Social Distance and Its Origins." *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 9, p. 219, Jan.-Feb. 1925.

These findings convincingly demonstrate that the outstanding cause of race antipathies is the making of unjustifiable generalizations on the basis of a few adverse personal experiences or of many adverse traditions. That the primary need of the day from the point of view of the schools is a more scientific attitude in dealing with social questions, requires no more than mere mention. How this scientific attitude can be developed, however, is a taxing problem. The suggestion here advanced—one that it is believed the objective studies cited support in substantial measure—is that the study of live issues in a scientific spirit in the classroom, a study marked by impartiality, candor, and critical thinking, will do much toward developing those desirable habits of deliberation and open-mindedness implicit in a scientific attitude. The sort of study of issues that is proposed will at the same time, it is believed, lead to the formation of individual attitudes on them that are both fair and intelligent.

Another suggestion is that an exhaustive inventory of issues dealing with all phases of social life may provide an effective approach to the study of attitudes. It is conceivable that by analyzing possible reaction situations into separate detailed units in this way the path is opened for a testing program which may throw needed light on the problem of attitudes and their development. Some testing along this line has already been done. The tests used, however, have almost invariably been constructed out of issues fragmentarily gathered from divers sources. The lists presented in this study will supply systematically derived and organized material for the construction of tests of social attitudes. A handicap is that the issues resulting from this study are largely technical in nature. A further step will be to discover and organize lists of issues which are more intimately associated with the experiences of everyday living—issues, for example, of family life, morals, etiquette, religious belief, and the like.



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